RURAL SOCIOLOGY

CARL C. TAYLOR

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

HARPER'S SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

F. STUART CHAPIN, EDITOR

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

A STUDY OF RURAL PROBLEMS

BY

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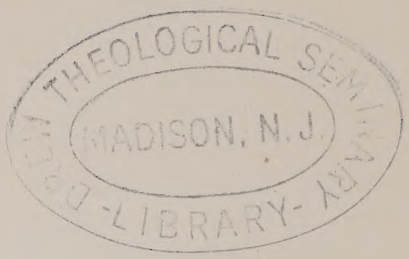

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

In our industrial-urban civilization the problems of rural living too often fail to receive the attention and study properly due them in consideration of society's inevitable dependence on agriculture. Intermittent study of agricultural problems has followed upon the intermittent pressure of farmers for attention to their needs and ideas. Already the physical side of farm life and agricultural production has shown improvement and important gains, but not until our schools and colleges devote more careful attention to the social side of farm living will our rural civilization improve and develop to its proper relationship with city living. In some fields of economic and physical rural welfare the next forward step waits on advance in rural social organization.

The present book is a systematic treatment of rural sociology and social problems. Professor Taylor has brought to his task extensive research experience in rural surveys, an intimate understanding of rural social relationships and a broad scholarly knowledge of social and economic theory. All the major problems of rural living are here dealt with in a scientific manner and yet the book does not lack in literary style and imaginative quality. Throughout the work there runs a current of unusual insight because the social psychology of rural problems is everywhere recognized as a basic element in the situation. The treatment is therefore thoroughly sympathetic without detracting from the critical and scholarly character of its descriptive analysis.

F. Stuart Chapin

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PREFACE

THE field of rural sociology has developed rapidly during the last ten years. Few systematic college text books have appeared during that time. Information and knowledge in the field of rural social life warrants an attempt to bring together a consideration of outstanding specific problems of rural life and the general principles of the science of sociology. It is my hope that some such contribution has been made in this volume.

I have not deemed it necessary to include, either at the ends of chapters or in an appendix, an elaborate bibliography. Such was necessary a few years ago when specific information in this field could be had only from scattered sources. Citations to other treatises in rural sociology and to supplementary and ramifying fields of knowledge are made in foot notes at the proper places.

In a number of instances I have presented information gathered by myself and my students during the last ten years. Much of this information has not appeared elsewhere. Some of it has. In a few instances the chief contents of chapters have previously appeared in *Rural America* and *Social Forces*. In each of these cases the editors knew of my intention to use later the materials in this book.

I have made liberal use of materials and ideas from other books in rural sociology and general sociology. I desire to take this occasion to thank the authors of these books for their materials. In every case I have tried to give credit by means of citations to their work.

I desire especially to mention the assistance that has been rendered me by my two sisters E. Grace Taylor and Ethel Mae Taylor for reading a portion of the manuscript; to my colleagues Professor W. A. Anderson for reading all the manuscript, and Professor A. J. Honeycutt for reading a portion of manuscript; to my wife for assisting in reading proof; and to Professor Stuart Chapin, editor of this series.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

CONTENTS

Part One: The Foundations of Rural Society

Chapter		Page
I	The Field of Rural Sociology	3
II	The Rise and Nature of the Rural Problem	12
III	Farming and Farm People	38
IV	Farm Labor	55
V	Land and Society	80
VI	The Rural Standard of Living	108

Part Two: Rural Social Problems

VII	The Problem of Rural Isolation	131
VIII	The Problem of Tenancy and Ownership	155
IX	The Problems of the Rural Home and Family	186
X	The Problem of the Rural Church	212
XI	An Adequate Rural Religious Program	235
XII	The Problem of Rural Education	256
XIII	The Problem of Rural Schools	284
XIV	An Adequate Rural Education Program	305
XV	The Problem of Rural Health	328
XVI	The Problem of Rural Recreation	349
XVII	The Problem of Rural Art	376

Part Three: The Farmer and His Society

XVIII	The Farmer and His Community	395
XIX	The Farmer and His Town	421
XX	The Farmer and His Government	440
XXI	Rural Social Psychology	460
XXII	The Farmer and Civilization	482
	Index	502

Part One

THE FOUNDATIONS OF RURAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

THE RELATION OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY TO SOCIOLOGY AND THE OTHER RURAL SOCIAL SCIENCES

The Difference between Rural Sociology and General Sociology.—Rural sociology differs from general sociology in that general sociology must analyze and describe the structure and functioning of all human relationships, while rural sociology takes for its task the description and analysis of those human groups which live by the occupation of agriculture or by occupations immediately dependent upon agriculture. Rural sociology is concerned with the relations of rural people to each other, the relations of rural people to other sections of national and world populations, with rural institutions, with the rural standard of living, and with the social problems which attach themselves to life and labor on the farm and in farm communities. Under this broad classification all sociology may be divided into rural sociology and urban sociology. Many other divisions of the field may be and are made for the sake of the detailed analysis of social life and social structure. Until the social significance of agriculture and of rural communities is made more apparent, rural sociology will probably attempt to cover some such broad division of social life as is indicated by the Urban-Rural classification.

The Difference between Rural Sociology and Rural Economics.—The distinction between rural sociology and agricultural economics is more difficult to make than that between general sociology and rural sociology. The mass of material to be handled in any adequate analysis of rural social life automatically drives students and teachers away from any detailed consideration of those facts which have bearing upon other than rural community life. The very vital relations which exist between farm profits and the rural standard of

living, the necessity of understanding the economic background and base of farm life, and the fact that every rural social fact has an economic corollary and vice versa make it almost impossible to separate the consideration of rural social phenomena from the consideration of the general economic facts of farm life. The best that the rural sociologist can do in presenting his analysis to readers and students who may not have studied agricultural economics, or indeed may not have studied economics at all, is to present a sufficient amount of economic description and analysis to be assured that his readers understand his sociological conclusions. Agricultural economics deals specifically with agricultural wealth, credit, cost, income, management, and marketing factors. Rural sociology is concerned with these factors only as they condition social organization or social well being.

Why Rural Sociology Must Cover Other Fields of Rural Social Science.—We have already suggested the necessity of some economic analysis in rural sociology. It is even more important that rural sociology cover the field of rural government, rural ethics, rural religion, rural education, and rural social psychology. These subjects are not yet developed into definite fields of analysis and treatment. The division of the field of social study into these different subjects is a matter of division of labor for the sake of complete analysis. Because there are no books written and practically no courses given in these various specialized fields, and because there are important social problems in these fields, the rural sociologist is under the necessity of describing and analyzing the problems of rural government, rural ethics, and rural religion, and presenting the facts of rural social psychology to his readers and students.

TWO DIFFERENT WAYS OF DEALING WITH RURAL SOCIOLOGY

May Make General Social Analysis and Use of Examples and Illustrations from Rural Life.—Theoretically, it would seem best not to separate too sharply the field of rural social analysis from that of the remainder of social life. Rural

society is a part of the Great Society. All the facts of the institutionalization of social life exist in rural districts. Human nature is about the same on the farm as elsewhere. Social origins, social evolution, social controls, social change, social stratification, and social progress are just as universal and just as essential in rural social life as elsewhere. It would seem, therefore, that to assemble and analyze the general facts, characteristics and tendencies of social life and apply them to rural social life would be most apt. The time is probably ripe for such a treatment of the field.

May Discuss and Analyze Rural Social Problems and Present Such General Sociology as is Necessary to an Understanding of These Problems.—Rural sociology has been given a place in college curricula because many specific rural social problems which need solution have recently come to light. The drift of rural population to the city, the decadence of the rural church, the inadequate rural school system, the need for rural recreation, the encroachment of farm tenancy, and other important rural social problems have arisen fairly recently in American life. Here and there in college circles, as elsewhere, these problems have been discussed. Their number and importance have gradually become more impressive until finally teachers, ministers, and students from the farm have begun making inquiry about them. The result is that the science of rural sociology has evolved as a study and analysis of the ever increasing list of specific rural social problems. Until more space in college curricula can be given to an analysis of rural society this is well, for the facts which attach themselves to these specific rural social problems are so many and the demand for specific understanding and solution of these problems is so pertinent that each problem can best be handled concretely and inductively.

THE SUBJECT MATTER AND TREATMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY SHOULD BE DIFFERENT IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF COLLEGES

May Be Only One among Many Advanced Courses in Sociology.—In an institution which offers a number of courses

in sociology, rural sociology should take its place among the many other middle and advanced courses in sociology. In such institutions it can always be preceded by a course in general sociology. There is little reason why it should be preceded by any other course in sociology. There is every reason why boys and girls who expect to live on farms should not be shunted into courses in charities, criminology, and anthropology in preference to rural sociology. Even students who never expect to live on farms can no more claim to be specialists in sociology without studying the phenomena of rural life than they can without studying the phenomena of crime, poverty, or the normal social organization of cities. Rural Sociology has a place in every department of sociology, but a vastly different place in a university, a teachers' college, or a theological seminary than it has in an agricultural college.

May Be the Only Course Given in Sociology in an Agricultural College.—The curricula of agricultural colleges are so universally crowded and so thoroughly vocationalized that few, if any, courses in sociology find place in them. In such institutions the course in rural sociology usually has the task and opportunity of giving students the only understanding of social life and social organization they will ever get. A course in rural sociology in such cases needs to be permeated with general social analysis. An agriculturist needs just as much as does any other member of society to be intelligent in social and political affairs. If the course in rural sociology does not develop this intelligence in him he will not have it in any adequate way. The time allotted to the course in rural sociology is usually too short to permit of an introduction to general sociology, followed by an analysis of rural social problems. The best that can be done is to attempt to make a happy combination of the description and analysis of specific rural social problems and by means of this description and analysis develop in the student a fairly adequate understanding of general social organization.

May Be the Only Rural Social Science Course Given in a College.—In some theological seminaries and teachers' col-

leges the only course, except history, given in the whole field of social science is rural sociology. In some agricultural colleges no course in history is given. In such cases a course in rural sociology which does not give a fairly adequate economic and historic background to its treatment of rural social problems is almost sure to be very much restricted in value. The course in rural sociology in such cases must be a course in rural economics as well as a course in rural sociology. An understanding of the social problem of land tenantry, of the rural home, or even the rural church, cannot be gained without an understanding of the deep economic roots of such problems. The course in rural sociology in such institutions as these must develop this understanding or fail in a large measure.

THE USE OF FIELD AND LABORATORY METHOD IN A COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Will Be Different with Different Types of Students.—It has been but a few years since there were no textbooks in rural sociology. There were no assembled or compiled data for use as subject materials in a course in rural sociology. The teacher was therefore forced to draw liberally upon his own experiences and observations and upon the experience and observations of his students for subject materials. This proved to be a blessing in that it established the custom of such practices and has thus guaranteed a large measure of inductive and factual treatment of the subject.

There are now a few adequate textbooks on rural sociology. Every teacher of rural sociology is quite conscious, however, of the incompleteness of our knowledge of rural life and of the impossibility of drawing wide generalizations from this incomplete knowledge. He is also cognizant of the fact that the average student in his class knows practically nothing about rural life in sections and communities other than the one in which he lives. He furthermore knows that the average college boy or girl has made very few objective observations of his or her local community and practically no rational

interpretations of the life and conditions of these communities. Many of his students will be city bred and will therefore know very little about rural life at all. His field and laboratory methods will have to be dictated by these conditions and facts.

Some Suggested Field and Laboratory Projects.—In the beginning stages in the development of rural sociology, before voluntary agencies, such as church, school, recreation, health, and now a number of official agencies, began to study rural life, students almost universally used to assemble a certain portion of the subject materials for their own courses. Now that there are established expert agencies operating in the field, work done by students with limited time and experience is looked upon as of precarious scientific value. The findings and interpretations of these expert agencies are now available in census and survey reports. Such reports offer exceptionally valuable collateral reading. Their values inhere in the exactness and details of their information and in the fact that they are now available from so large a number of communities and on so large and various a set of problems, conditions, situations, and institutions as to make a study of the rural life of the whole nation possible. These reports and documents, particularly the census reports, offer very little interpretation of the facts presented. They, therefore, furnish most valuable sources for laboratory work. Such sources as these furnish about the only practicable opportunity for laboratory work in a beginning course in rural sociology.

It Is Highly Desirable to Use Field and Laboratory Studies in Teaching Rural Sociology.—Many projects can be developed without leaving the college campus. A study of agricultural journals, country newspapers, Chautauqua programs and projects, writing the natural history of one's home community, interviewing students who have come from rural communities, and many similar studies are available for laboratory projects in a course in rural sociology. A very limited amount of actual field work can be done by students in a beginning course. This field work can be greatly elaborated in advanced courses. Where funds and time are avail-

able, surveys of limited scope can be made by students. Nearby rural communities, institutions, and organizations can be visited and studied. Rural agencies located in the college town may be thoroughly studied. The study of town and country relationships, particularly the town end of such relationships, may be studied. Merchants, bankers, preachers, teachers, and other persons who serve rural folk may be interviewed. Retired farmers and persons who have left rural communities to enter town or city occupations may be interviewed. Chambers of commerce, farm and home demonstration agents, and cooperative associations are often willing to furnish transportation to instructors and students for rural projects. Week-end trips to home or other communities can be utilized. Arrangements can sometimes be made to take a whole class to an exceptional community or to attend some rural community function. In exceptional cases students can be used to assist in definite nearby rural community projects, institutions, or other organization work. All of these possibilities are limited in their use because of the lack of time and money and because of the number of students who must participate, and particularly because of their limited training and experience in such work. These things do offer opportunities for field work, however. Such work will be valuable in ratio to the time and expert guidance which it receives.

SUMMARY OF THE DIFFICULTIES IN PLANNING AND CONDUCTING AN ADEQUATE COURSE IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Difficulties of Comprehension and Duplication.—Rural sociology is a well-defined field of knowledge. It is not a well-differentiated field of teaching. It is important that every student of social life and every citizen have some understanding of rural civilization. It is especially important that college men and women who expect to work on farms and to live in rural communities have such an understanding. It is especially important that college men and women who expect to work on farms or to live in rural communities have their

eyes opened to rural social conditions. They should also understand the general social organization of society.

It is impossible for a course in rural sociology to cover the whole field of social science or even the whole field of rural social science. It is nevertheless often confronted with one or both of these tasks. If it seems to meet the needs of one type of student it will probably fail adequately to meet the needs of others or will duplicate materials and analyses presented in other courses in sociology or in other social science courses.

Difficulties of Comprehension and Accuracy.—The specific problems of rural life are so many, the facts known about these social problems are so numerous and yet are often so specific as not to be universal, that it is difficult to present an analysis of rural life that is adequate and complete. On the other hand, if a teacher or writer fails to present statistical facts his conclusions are likely to be called into question.

There are many prejudices about rural social problems. There are many patent remedies for these problems. Few facts about rural social life are presented in the census report. Information has to be gained by wide and careful observation and from specific rural social surveys made in different communities. A course in rural sociology must be for the present a rapid, almost categorical, analysis of specific rural social problems. For a wider knowledge of social life and a deeper appreciation of individual rural social problems, the student must depend upon elaborate collateral reading and constant careful observation.

Difficulties Arising from the Newness of This Field of Study.—Rural sociology is new in the curricula of colleges and universities. Indeed it is so new that few people know what it is and what it is attempting to do. Rural social problems are new themselves and therefore a rural sociology which attempts to describe and analyze these problems must necessarily have recently appeared. Many farm folk even yet resent the suggestion that there are rural conditions which may in any way be designated as problems. For about a decade, however, there have been few things, except the

World War and possibly labor problems, about which we have heard so much as we have about "The Rural Problem." To some people's minds the term "Rural Problem" is only a shibboleth. To other people's minds it represents some specific single outstanding set of conditions which is fraught with grave dangers for the rural communities of America and possibly for all civilization. It is not worth our while to discuss in a controversial fashion these different concepts of what "The Rural Problem" is. Suffice it to say that rural sociology attempts to analyze not only the conditions which give rise to the "Rural Problem" but also to analyze the forces and conditions which constitute it.

SELECTED COLLATERAL SOURCE MATERIALS

GILLETTE, J. M., *Rural Sociology,* Chap. I, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

SANDERSON, D., "The Teaching of Rural Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 433-60, January, 1914.

BUTTERFIELD, K. L., *Chapters in Rural Progress,* Chap. I, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1907.

GROVES, E. R., "The Teaching of Rural Sociology," in *Proceedings of First National Country Life Conference,* pp. 135-7, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1919.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE AND NATURE OF THE RURAL PROBLEM

ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE ALL RURAL PROBLEMS INTO ONE RURAL PROBLEM

The Drift to the City.—The first rural problem to receive general popular consideration was the urbanization process. This was again called to our attention by the 1920 census reports. The process has been going on at a rapid rate in the United States for the last thirty or forty years. Ten years ago "The Drift to the City" and "The Rural Problem" were phrases that had practically synonymous meanings in the minds of the people who were discussing rural life. The idea universally aired at that time was that this movement of rural population to the city was leaving in the rural districts a decadent civilization—decadent because the city was robbing it of all of its best minds and most ambitious citizens. The rural problem, according to these people, was "how to keep the boy on the farm"; "how to retard the process of urbanization"; "how to uplift and regenerate rural civilization." Students of rural social conditions today know that with the exception of a few abandoned New England farms and the all too frequent phenomenon of the retired farmer in all sections of the nation, there is nothing in "the drift to the city" which in and of itself is keeping our agricultural population from performing efficiently its division of society's labor. "Back to the farm" is the echo of a past notion. There has never been a systematic attempt to work the slogan and there is little possibility that it would have met with any success had its advocates attempted to promote it as a practical project. Furthermore, during the World War we developed altogether too universal an appreciation of the capability and capacity of the farming class to tolerate any longer the

assumption that our rural communities are decadent and our rural population in need of uplift. The "drift to the city" has been real enough, and still continues. It does not, however, in any of its immediate aspects present a serious "rural problem." American farms are producing more in annual products than at any previous time. American farmers are producing more per man than any farm population of the earth. Furthermore, they are producing more per acre than any previous generation of American farmers has ever produced. In 1919, the American farmers produced a total value of $19,856,000,000 in farm products.[1] Production per acre has increased one-half per cent per year in the United States for the last twenty-five years.[2] New England farms which are said to be suffering from soil depletion and from which the population is said to be drifting to the city produced 25 per cent more of their eight leading crops in the ten year period between 1909-1919 than they did in the period between 1866-1876. When we compare the American farmer with farmers of other countries, we find that he produces two and three-tenths times as much per man as the English farmer, two and five-tenths times as much as the Belgian farmer, two and five-tenths times as much as the German farmer, three and two-tenths times as much as the French farmer, and six times as much as the Italian farmer.[3] It is production per man and not per acre by which we can measure the adequacy of rural life. Apparently the "drift to the city" has not thwarted progress and efficiency in farming to any great degree, nor has the rural population absolutely decreased at any decade in our national life. We have today over one and one-half million more people living in rural districts than we had a decade ago and over six million more than we had twenty years ago. With a greater population, a greater gross production, a greater per capita and greater per acre production, it is little short of sophistry to assert that the urbaniza-

[1] *Year Book of the Department of Agriculture, 1920,* p. 806.
[2] *American Year Book of Agriculture, 1919,* pp. 17-25.
[3] Butterfield, K. L., *The Farmer and the New Day,* p. 10, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.

tion of American society has left us a degenerate rural population, at least so far as numbers and productive capacity are concerned.

That the urbanization and industrialization of America has had its effect on farm progress, farm organization, and even farm prosperity can scarcely be denied, however. Our cities have grown much more rapidly both in population and in production than has our open country. City occupations and industries regularly outbid farming for man power and money power. People seem to be more willing and more anxious to pay for the products of the city than for the products of the farm. A universal knowledge that these things are true has done much to give city populations, city standards of life, and city culture a dominant position in the thinking and ambition of the nation. An urbanization of our whole national life in this way has been going on almost from the beginning of our national existence. It has moved with increasing acceleration during the last seventy or eighty years. Farmers are not sentimentally concerned about the drift of population to our cities. They may not universally be cognizant of the urbanization of our economic processes, monetary rewards, and standards of culture, but they are gradually becoming aware of the fact that industrialization, urbanization, or something else has developed an economic régime which fails to remunerate them adequately for their goods and labors. They may not analyze all of the conditions in their cause and effect relations, but they are vaguely aware of an unsatisfactory adjustment to modern standards of life and quite keenly aware of the unfavorable comparison which exists between themselves and the upper classes of our city population.

There are two possible explanations of this urbanization of our economic and social life. One is that our farmers in the past may have produced more nearly the maximum amount of their share of economic goods than have other occupations and industries. If it is overproduction that is the cause of meagre rewards for the producers of raw goods, then the remedy is to allow farm production to lag until the income

from farming is sufficiently remunerative to make farmers the successful bidders for labor power and money power in the open labor and money markets of the country. The other explanation is that the city and city industries are not competing in the open markets according to the law of supply and demand, but are so organized that they can offer prices and attractions to men for investments which are all out of proportion to their value and usefulness to society.[1] If this be true, then America is urbanized and industrialized to a point and in a way that is dangerous, and action on the part of the government or on the part of powerfully organized groups of farmers, alone, can break the city's monopoly of the attention, time, and energy of the nation.

It is doubtful if the urbanization of modern society, in the sense of the drift of population to the cities, can be checked. The process is an inevitable part of the industrialization of society. Some of the outstanding characteristics of this industrialization are the refining of goods and the distributing of them in world markets, the development of surplus, and the constant appearance of new human wants. Simply stated, then, the cause of urbanization is this: it takes a larger per cent of our population to carry on the refining and distributing processes of society today than it did yesterday and will probably take an even greater per cent tomorrow. Unless, therefore, we want to retard these two economic processes, we do not want to retard, to any marked extent, the drift to the city. Furthermore, to do so would be to demand a retrenchment of our expanding human desires for refined goods. Our rising standard of living would suffer because of such a retrenchment and our farmers rather than being better rewarded would be forced to take lower prices for their products because of the comparative increase in raw products and comparative decrease in refined products. If we have developed in American society a false or futile standard of living which is leading us to remunerate the producers of refined goods, even of luxuries, better than we

[1] Quick, Herbert, *The Real Trouble with the Farmer,* The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1924.

remunerate the producers of raw goods, then we do indeed have a problem which results more or less directly from the urbanization of society, for the making of refined goods and luxuries is wholly a city process and occupation. But this problem is not the "Rural Problem" or even any part of it so far as farming or farm people are concerned. It is, however, a social problem of national importance. The attempt to solve it should be made by attacking it at the luxury-consuming end and at the point where luxury fortunes are being made, not by turning others onto the farm to compete with the American farmer or by refusing all farm boys and girls admittance to city life.

Rural Isolation.—A more recent attempt to explain the rural situation by a single analysis has resulted in the slogan, "Rural Isolation." Some of the statements most often heard that represent this belief are that the farmer is conservative, superstitious, orthodox, individualistic, and narrow, as a result of being out of the stream of civilization. Boys and girls are said to be leaving the farm because they loathe the isolation and lonesomeness of rural life. Farmers are beaten in the world's markets and the world's legislative forums because they haven't established working contacts with each other and with other classes of people. Assertions have even been made, though not based upon evidence, that farm women have greatly increased our suicide and insanity rates because of the loneliness of farm life.

Without question, isolation on the farm presents a sharp contrast to the congestion of the city. Whether it is to be more deplored than the congestion of the city is doubtful. The fact that farmers have not enjoyed contacts with other farm families and with people of other occupations and professions has been a serious check to farm progress and is probably more truly an index to all rural problems than any one other thing. Furthermore, the farmer himself has come to recognize and appreciate this fact. The development of better means of communication and better modes of transportation have recently established contacts between farmers themselves and between farmers and other classes. These

contacts are not only appreciated by the farmers but have given rise to a desire for more contacts. The farmer today has for the most part come to recognize his condition of isolation as a problem that needs solving. It is doubtful whether he has ever recognized the urbanization process in any of its aspects as a farmer's problem. To assume, however, that isolation is the only rural problem or even its outstanding social problem is to have little conception of the complexity of rural society.

Rural Cooperation.—Probably the only other slogan that has held anything like equal sway with the two just characterized is that which has gone under the general term "cooperation." This slogan has probably been more thoroughly popularized in the last decade than either of the other two. It has not only been preached by all people who claimed to have an interest in rural welfare but has been quite universally adopted by the farmers themselves. Farm people have felt that this is a problem which is their own. They have accepted it because it expresses not a criticism of rural life but a solution for rural problems. They are convinced that they must cooperate in order to get the new contacts which they have come to desire; that they must cooperate even to carry on their own occupation in an up-to-date fashion. It is questionable, however, whether cooperation has until recently been more than a working hypothesis. It has in some cases become almost a religious shibboleth. It is as a slogan, a shibboleth, or a religion that it has been hailed as a solution of the rural problem. As a slogan or shibboleth it has had great propagandic effect, most of which has made for a more satisfactory and desirable farm life. Without the slogan of cooperation little would have been accomplished in the past and without it in the future doubtless no rural program will ever be attempted. It would be a rather meaningless and indefinite statement, however, to say that "cooperation" is the rural problem.

There is probably no other fact or single set of conditions which has caught the popular mind in the same degree as the three just mentioned. "The drift to the city" and "rural

isolation" as rural conditions and "cooperation" as a rural program have, to the popular mind, been the essence of the "Rural Problem." Each of these, however, is a mere index to a far more complex set of conditions than they themselves describe and to rural problems so numerous that they must be classified and subclassified for the sake of adequate analysis. The rural problem is not one problem but many problems combined and interwoven to such a degree that a single definition is impossible and for which a single solution cannot be found.

WHAT GAVE RISE TO THE RURAL PROBLEM

The Knowledge of the Difference between Urban and Rural Life.—There are two chief processes which have been mainly responsible for the rise of that set of conditions and desires which go under the name "The Rural Problem." These are the growing recognition of the difference between rural and urban life and the change in the rural situation itself. It is not that the breach between urban and rural life has widened but that farmers have become more and more aware of what city people are and what they enjoy. To these two processes there must be added a third, *viz.*, the impetus and interest which have been developed by the establishment of institutions and agencies to study and promote the welfare and efficiency of the farming class. In fact, for a proper comprehension of any or all of these problems, it is necessary to understand the numerous developments which have given rise to and conditioned the nature of the so-called "Rural Problem."

The growing recognition of the difference between urban and rural life and between urban and rural people has much to do with the farmer's present attitude of mind about his problems. It has led to the belief that urban life is more to be desired than rural life. The drift to the city, whether good or bad and whether regarded as a rural problem or not, is indicative of the belief that urban life is to be preferred to rural life. People move from the open country into the city

for many and various reasons but always because they believe the city contains the things they individually desire in a larger measure than the country does. That thousands of these people find themselves living in undesirable conditions after they reach the city should not obscure the fact that the city does attract people by its superior schools, churches, literature, art, and other social attractions. Wages paid wholly in cash and hours which are comparatively short attract people to the city. Modern industry has opened up fine business opportunities and developed great fortunes in the city. These facts have become universally known. The fact that not all the people of the city participate in these opportunities and fortunes is not so well known. The consequence is that the economic opportunities are thought to be superior to those of the country. The multiplied amusements, bright lights, street cars, side walks, and clean clothes of the city are easily contrasted with conditions of rural living.

A study made by the writer of 1,470 heads of families and individuals not attached to families who have moved from the open country to a number of Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia towns within the last ten years reveals the fact that 524 went to the city to participate in what they expected to be greater economic opportunities; 396 went to avail themselves or their children of better educational advantages; 226 went to participate in a livelier and better organized social life; and 232 retired to the city because of old age or because they had accumulated enough wealth to live in comparative idleness the remainder of their lives. The remaining ninety-two families gave the following reasons: "failing health or incapacity to do farm work," "marriage with men with city occupations," "death of the farm entrepreneur or bread winner." This body of statistics, while not large, probably fairly represents the facts. In a vast majority of the cases these people have voluntarily left the farms for towns and cities because they believed that urban life in some one specific aspect or in all of its aspects is to be preferred to rural life.

The Development of Closer Contacts between the Urban and Rural Groups.—One of the important factors which has precipitated discussion and thought on the numerous social problems of rural communities and which lies back of a belief in the desirability of city life is the almost sudden development of a number of means of communication between country and city. The coming of the rural telephone, the free rural delivery, the interurban, and the automobile have brought the urban and rural groups face to face. The result has been the sudden rise of a consciousness on the part of the rural population that civilization has developed many desirable things which the city alone enjoys. This consciousness is not a consciousness of a decadent rural life but of a life which suffers in comparison with life in the city; of a life which has not availed itself of many of the good things which modern civilization holds in store for it. One example of these modern means of developing urban social contacts should be sufficient at this point. In 1907 there were 1,464,000 rural telephones in the United States. In 1920 there were 3,156,000.[1] It is only a slight exaggeration to say that in 1890 there was none. An elaboration of similar facts is given in Chap. VII.

The contacts thus gained through these means of communication have given rural people standards and desires which they did not previously possess. The establishment of these standards and desires has created the problem of fulfilling these desires and attaining these standards.

The Diminishing Self-sufficiency of the American Farm.—It was a psychological impossibility for the "Rural Problem" to present itself to the minds of the country people so long as American farms were entirely self-sufficient. Problems arise with increasing adjustments to be made. To say that the self-sufficiency of the farm is diminishing is but another way of saying that farm life is becoming an inter-relation of town and country life. The development and differentiation of industrial processes have automatically removed many proc-

[1] Statistics furnished by American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York City.

esses from the farm to the city. Spinning, weaving, shoe cobbling, tailoring, tool and implement making have been absolutely removed to the city. Even such processes as sewing, canning, butter making, and baking have been transferred to some degree from the farm home to factory, mill, and bake shop. Others will follow. The division of labor, which began no one knows how long ago, has changed the face of the countryside as well as the face of the rest of civilization, and still more and more minute divisions of the processes of production and manufacturing are still in progress. On the whole this process has been as beneficial to the farmer and his family as to any one else. It has left him free to specialize in the production of raw materials and this specialization in no small way accounts for his increased efficiency. His increased efficiency in turn has made it possible for him to sell his products in the world markets and with the money received for them to buy more of the world's goods than he could ever have enjoyed under a system in which he supplied all his own and his family's needs out of his own fields, flocks, and herds. To say that he is now specializing in the production of raw goods is but another way of saying that he is depending on other people to furnish him with finished goods. He is more efficient under this system but less self-sufficient.

The diminishing self-sufficiency of the farm has thrown the farmer into contact with other people and these contacts have been mainly with city people. He is now acquainted with both rural and city life. He is dependent upon city people as well as upon rural people and so is interested in the people and processes of the city.

The Desire to be of Equal Status with Urbanites.—The interest which the people of the farm now take in the city market and city people is not confined to the goods which are bought from city people. Contacts with the city and its mode of life have made farmers highly conscious of the fact that the country lacks many worth while and enjoyable things which city people have. The paved streets, street cars, and electric lights are practically all in the city. Clean clothes, leisure, art, literature, and amusement centers are found chiefly in the

city. Furthermore, the people who are permitted by circumstance and opportunity to participate in these desirable things are thought to be more urbane, polite, civil, and sophisticated than those who are without them. Farm people for the most part do not believe that city people are superior to themselves but they know that society at large considers the social status of the people of affairs and leisure in the city to be superior to the social status of the farmer and his family. While farmers resent this attitude they nevertheless cater to it and are both consciously and unconsciously striving to alter the attitude and the situation which has given rise to it. They desire, and rightfully so, to be of equal status with the urbanites. This desire and how to satisfy it are part of the rising "Rural Problem."

CHANGES IN THE RURAL SITUATION ITSELF

The Loss of Soil Fertility.—The factors thus far mentioned which have served to brew the Rural Problem are mainly psychological and social. There have been in addition to them some factors more historical, geographical, and physical in their nature which have contributed materially to the rise of the Rural Problem. Rural people know of the good things which the other half of society has, but know also that they are living in a rural situation which itself is different from that of fifty or even twenty years ago. The problem of the loss of soil fertility with the incident possibility of the destruction of the very foundation of the occupation of farming is a recent problem. The great agricultural areas of the United States have been under cultivation long enough for us to have robbed the soil of much of its native fertility, and in certain sections, to have completely depleted the soil of some of its most fundamental elements. Five million acres of land once under cultivation in the Southern states have been completely abandoned for real farming purposes. Lands that at one time produced fine crops on the basis of native fertility must now be encouraged by use of commercial fertilizers. Soil erosion of lands which have been long under cultivation

has forced these lands into pastures, meadows, and forests. Farmers can no longer mine the soil. They must husband and nurture it. The knowledge of these facts has brought the farmer and the nation to an attitude toward the occupation of farming, toward the function of the farmer and the future of the farm enterprise which is different from anything that was in existence a few decades ago. This attitude is one of serious questioning and of serious analysis and its development has done much to set the stage for the entrance of the "Rural Problem."

The Limits of the Agricultural Frontier Already Reached.— So long as there were new and fertile land areas adjacent to those which were being depleted, the robbing of the soil of its original elements was of little moment. So long as there was a "Great West," to which population might move, the exhaustion of the old agricultural areas did not raise any immediate problems beyond those of the migration of people and the construction of transportation and communication facilities between their new homes and the established markets of the developed areas. When, however, the moving tide of land seekers struck the Pacific coast and turned back upon itself we became cognizant of the fact that there were limits to our national agricultural expansion. From that time on we were confronted with the problem of producing the food supply for our present and future population upon the areas under cultivation or at least upon acres within the boundaries of the populated regions. It was at this era in our national history that the tragedy of soil depletion became apparent. The population in our rural districts became more dense. Our farms grew smaller. Many young men and young women who a few years before would have moved west and continued to live on farms, now began to drift cityward. The skimming and mining of the soil was no longer profitable and with its unprofitableness arose the problem of how to check the process and if possible to repair the damage done.

With the passing of the frontier and the increasing density of population in rural areas came also the passing of the individual exclusiveness of the farmer. His neighbors were now

on every hand. Villages sprang up at his very door. Great cities developed within his reach. All of these things increased his contacts with people and his increased contacts with people made him a different type of man from the old frontiersman. His life became more complex in every way. He had new adjustments to make and new problems to solve. These new adjustments and new problems are the very essence of the "Rural Problem."

The Influence upon the Rural Problem of the Growing Magnitude of the Nation.—At about the same time that these new adjustments and new problems referred to came to be clearly recognized by the American farmers, another series of developments established the United States as a recognized world power. Our war with Spain, in 1898, announced this fact to the world. It was not this war, however, which was the cause of our rise as a world power. The development of our factories and our great export trade had already given us standing with the other nations of the world. We had all the time been playing a great part in the world production but it had been in the production of raw goods which were supplementary to the great manufacturing enterprises of other nations. Now in addition to offering other nations the raw products for their factories, we established business enterprises which were competing with them. As competitors they had to recognize us in a way in which they had not recognized us up to this time. The manufacturers in our own nation now came to look upon the farm enterprise in the same way as the whole world had in the past looked upon America, that is, as the producers of the raw materials which were essential to the maintenance of factory processes. Because of a recognition of these facts, these manufacturers became interested in the occupation of farming. Foreign manufacturers became more intensely interested in American agriculture because now it had to furnish not only them but also the American manufacturer with raw goods. The efficiency and future of the American farm was a problem in which they were vitally interested. The issue of American farm production became a subject for discussion in many circles outside of farming communities.

Some great American cities established agencies for encouraging and assisting in the development of the agricultural regions from which they drew their raw materials. Transportation companies, railroads, and express companies recognized their dependence upon the farm enterprise and so established agricultural extension departments. Until this wider interest developed in what the farmers were doing and what the farms were producing any statesman who pled the cause of the American farmer was considered merely a politician bidding for the farmer vote. Now the vastly wider importance of agriculture was seen. The problem of the American farm became a national and even an international problem of the supply of raw materials for factories and of the food and clothes supplies for the people of the world.

The rise of America to a prominent place among the nations of the world not only gave the rest of the nation and other nations an interest in the American farm, but also gave the American farmer himself a deeper appreciation of his worth to society and a clearer appreciation of his function in society. Seeing his relationship to other industries gave him an interest in what was going on in these other lines of enterprise. Protective tariffs and other governmental schemes for assisting the manufacturers caused him to take a deeper interest in what the government was doing, not all of which was of unquestioned good for the farmer. These other industries, already well established, began to bid against the farmer. They bid against him for the capital and investment power of the nation. Gradually he began to see his relations to other sections of the population and to other industries. He now sees clearly that he is of great significance to the nation and to the world and that the nation and the world are of no small significance to him. When the nations of the world recognized the United States as a world power they incidentally recognized the American farmer in a very special way. This recognition by others and this discovery of himself presented to the farmer many new problems to be solved and many new adjustments to be made.

The Influence of Institutions and Agencies Established to

Study Rural Social Problems and to Promote Rural Welfare.—Not least among the causes of the rise of the Rural Problem was the establishment of a set of institutions and agencies for the purpose of discovering and solving farm problems. These agencies and institutions have been working for a number of years to convince farmers and other groups of our population of the fundamental importance of the agricultural enterprise. Some of them have been working steadily and with increased effectiveness for eighty years.[1] These constant efforts, the ever enlarging programs and increasing numbers of agencies were bound to bear fruit. A series of national legislative acts which began as far back as 1861 took on increased significance with their rapid expansion of programs and funds from about 1890 on. In 1889, the United States Department of Agriculture was raised to an executive position and its chief officer made a member of the President's Cabinet. A report of an investigation by the United States Department of Agriculture which brings the data up to 1920 shows 65 national agricultural organizations, 143 interstate organizations, and 1761 organizations of state scope.[2] These organizations and associations have developed, expanded, and projected programs which include every phase of farm experience, from those which have to do with the most technical farm processes to many whose purpose it is to propagate and develop rural social institutions and even rural ideals. Very recently the great farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau Federation and the great Growers' Cooperative Marketing organizations have served to heighten the rural consciousness of hundreds of thousands of farmers.

In 1907 President Roosevelt appointed a Commission on Country Life. He said in the introduction to the official report of the Commission:

> The Commission was appointed because the time has come when it is vital to the welfare of the country seriously to consider the problems of farm life. So far the farmer has not received the atten-

[1] Bailey, L. H., *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, Vol. IV, p. 328.
[2] Taylor, H. C., *Directory of American Agricultural Organizations*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1920.

tion that the city worker has received and has not been able to express himself as the city worker has done. The problems of farm life have received very little consideration and the result has been bad for those who dwell in the open country, and therefore bad for the whole nation.[1]

Since the report of the Commission, every problem investigated or discussed by it has been the subject of many investigations, both official and private. Each of these investigations and its findings has served to further define the elements in the "Rural Problem" and to make both urban and rural people conscious of this.

In 1918, the American Country Life Association was organized at Baltimore, Maryland. Since that time this organization has once each year assembled in national conference several hundreds of people interested in all phases and problems of rural life. Practically all agencies and institutions which have rural life programs have been represented in these conferences. Its aim is:

> . . . to facilitate discussions of the problems and objectives of country life and the means of their solution and attainment; to further the efforts and increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions engaged in this field; to disseminate information calculated to promote better understanding of country life, and to aid in rural improvement.[2]

The influence of the forces and movements outlined in this chapter constitute the history and psychology of a growing consciousness of the place of rural life in the nation. This consciousness, while comparatively recent in origin, is today so concrete and clear that it enters into practically every national problem which confronts the American people.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL WELFARE

The Relation of Welfare to Efficiency.—The "Rural Problem" is a problem of rural efficiency and rural welfare. The

[1] *Report of the Commission on Country Life,* pp. 9-10, Sturgis and Walton Company, New York, 1911.

[2] See *Annual Proceedings of National Country Life Conference,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

problems of efficiency and welfare are two aspects of the same problem. This is true not only in the sentimental sense that we have no efficiency where the lives of the people are unwholesome and unhappy, but in the very practical sense, that we cannot get the greatest production unless the producers are living a wholesome and happy life. Whether we measure rural efficiency in terms of farm production or in terms of farm life, it is a problem of national concern and a problem of concern to farm folk.

The term "welfare" has been used so often to apply to mere "uplift" or charity programs, that it has been robbed to some degree of its wider significance. We are in no sense implying that the Rural Problem is one of charity or sentimental uplift. The term "welfare" is here used to include all the good things of life for which enlightened people strive. Surely in this sense rural people do have a problem of rural welfare. They, in common with all other members of a progressive civilization, are ever striving to develop and to participate in the store of good things which modern society furnishes. The sources of these desirable things are to be gotten from all parts of the earth, from people other than themselves, and from their own home and neighborhood life. The essence of the farmer's welfare problem is then, how to draw from these outside sources, how to get in touch with these other people, and how to develop his own home and community life.

How Can Rural People Get for Themselves the Best Things Which Their Age Offers?—Is it necessary for people who live on the farm to go to the city in order to have the fruits and enjoyments of modern civilization? Rural people would very sincerely resent an affirmative answer to this question. It cannot be denied, however, that thousands of them have permanently moved their residences from the country districts to the towns and cities in order to satisfy their desires for so-called modern things. Millions more of them, in order to satisfy these desires, travel weekly tens of millions of miles back and forth between their farm homes and the nearby towns. This statement is not a criticism of these habits of modern rural people who have good roads and automobiles

and who have so efficiently organized their occupation that they have time to go to the county seats and other towns to trade, visit with their neighbors, and attend the picture show. It does raise the question of whether they can, and should, develop in the open country the facilities, institutions, and agencies for satisfying their legitimate desires for these modern conveniences and human enjoyments. It is a part of the farmer's problem of rural welfare to decide whether he can supply all his needs, and satisfy all of his legitimate desires, by facilities which he develops in the open country. Is it a physical possibility to supply these facilities out in the open country? Would it be desirable to duplicate, at a far higher cost, the machinery for supplying those desirable things, when such machinery is a part of every city's organization? Certainly, the limits to the farmer's trading would be quickly reached if he attempted any such thing. Just as certainly would he go without many conveniences, such as the telephone and rural free delivery. Yet more certain is it that he would not be supplied with modern recreation facilities. These are all things which combine to make for welfare in the rural districts. A recognition of these facts suggests a third alternative, *viz.,* cannot, must not, and should not the farmer combine the facilities which the city and town offers him and his family with those good things which are inherent in his environment or can best be developed in the open country? No one can object to an affirmative answer to this question. The farmer is not objecting to it. He is practicing it. The open country is his to own. The town is his to use or own as he sees fit. They are both products of his enterprise. His welfare depends upon the efficiency with which he makes both of them produce the utilities which satisfy the legitimate desires of his modern life.

How Can Rural People Increase Their Human Contacts?— As has been stated, the relative isolation of country people comes nearer being an index to all rural social problems than any other one thing. It is out of contacts that human personality, human character and societies develop. Civilization never has developed in isolation. An individual who

does not have the technique of communication—language—we call "dumb." Those individuals who have come in contact with a great number of human experiences through literature, history, science, and travel we call educated because they have developed cosmopolitan minds. They are cosmopolitan because they have enjoyed and have imbibed the experiences of life through contacts with the world and with other people. The early pioneer was devoid of these opportunities. The modern farmer has developed many of these contacts and desires more of them. He wants better contact, and more contacts, with his own neighbors, with other social groups or classes and with the affairs of the world. A part of the farmer's problem of welfare is how to get these contacts. The increased density of population in rural districts, the development of towns and cities, the building of wagon roads, railroads, and interurban lines, the coming of the rural free delivery and the telephones have all given the farmer a taste of the cosmopolitan life of the world. These means of transportation and communication have brought him into contact with the life of other people. He has learned to know about practically all the good things which other people enjoy. He sees that he does not have as much, or as many of some of these desirable things as some other sections of our population have. His desires for these things are legitimate desires. His problem is how to satisfy them. The chief essential in the solution of this problem is the ability to increase his contacts with the people who have these desirable things, to get in touch with the sources from which they are obtained, and, above all, to develop them in his own neighborhood.

How Can Rural People Eliminate or Reduce to a Minimum the Stultifying Factors in Their Environment?—Rural life is, for the most part, a happy and buoyant life. It is lived in the great out-of-doors, in contact with the direct stimulation and beauty of nature. It is not a mechanically restricted life. It does not have the smoke and din of the manufacturing district, the absolute and minute routine machine process of the factory, the congestion of the city slum, the factory whistle to tell persons when to start and when to stop, or the

traffic policeman to tell them where they can and cannot go. The rural person, from childhood to old age, probably lives a life of greater individual freedom than any other person of modern civilization. This is not to say, however, that there are not forces and factors in his environment which tend to stultify his life and, in some cases, to be actually harmful to him.

The man who works as directly with nature as does the farmer is bound to be compelled to make very exacting adjustments to the forces of nature. The factors of production with which he works are not carried to him as they are to the factory workers. He must go where they are. The materials with which he works in planting, cultivating, and harvesting are, many of them, not subject to perfect machine processes. He must handle and move them with his own physical strength. The severity of climate and season under which he must often work is not easily modifiable by artificial heat and light as it is in the factory and in many city occupations. He must endure these severities, seek to mitigate their influence, or so order his work as to fit in with them. The hills upon his farm cannot be reduced by excavation, the valleys cannot be filled, the creeks and rivers cannot be conquered by mere bridging. His farm processes lead him over the hills and valleys as they are. Indeed, he must for the most part seek to preserve them in their native form if he would make them yield the most. His fences must cross the creeks at the borders of his farm and cross or follow around them at other points. The result of all these adverse contacts with nature is the exact opposite of the exultation which comes with the stimulation and beauties of outdoor life mentioned above. These are stultifying influences which buffet him year in and year out and to which he must continually seek to make easier adjustments by the proper organization of his farm enterprise, by an increased use of machinery and other modern technologies of farming.

The factors and forces just described are so absolutely inherent in the process of farming that they cannot be eliminated. The problem they represent is the problem of easy

adjustments and maximum uses. A proper appreciation and understanding of their psychological effects on the great mass of farm people offer another solution to the problem which they present. This solution lies in the direction of supplying the men who must subject themselves to these severe and continuous tests or adjustments with a proper amount of relief from their influence. They must have some leisure time and this leisure time must be filled with opportunities for reading and other educational pursuits, with religious opportunities, with opportunities for recreation, and association with other people. Children must not be too early or too constantly subjected to these forces. Women must not be asked, except upon rare occasions, to assist in the field and farm processes, in addition to their already too arduous household tasks.

How Can Farm People Raise Their Standard of Living?—The standard of living is the yardstick by which we measure the efficiency and welfare of any person or social group. A satisfactory life is so much a matter of personal taste, and people are so universally satisfied with tastes which they have imbibed from their own home surroundings that it seems to some an impossibility to set standards of social efficiency or social welfare. There are some things, however, which every one will recognize as necessary to life if life is to be worth living. The amount or degree of these essential things may vary according to occupational needs and to natural environments. If, however, any one of them is completely missing there is introduced into the life of the individual or group an undesirable element, or at least there is left out a desirable element. These socially necessary things are, food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and association with other persons. The solution of the problem of rural welfare demands not only means and methods by which people who live on farms may get these essentials of an adequate life, but also demands that there be developed a healthy desire for these things. The problem of welfare everywhere can best be equated in terms of an adequate standard of living. The problem of rural efficiency also can best be equated in terms of an adequate, progressive standard of living. Many of the ele-

ments in the standard of living constitute the subject matter of whole chapters in this book, and, therefore, a thorough treatment of the subject will not be presented here.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL EFFICIENCY

The Problem of Rural Efficiency from the National Point of View.—The Rural Life Movement which took on conscious form in the survey of rural life conditions and in the report of the Country Life Commission in 1907 was a sister movement with the Conservation Movement. The two movements were in fact a part of each other. Theodore Roosevelt considered them of equal importance and concern. The fact that the conservation of our national resources presented a problem which could be measured in monetary terms and a situation which could be used for political purposes got it immediate consideration. The fact, on the other hand, that the report of the Country Life Commission dealt with matters of human concern and was interpreted by many as a criticism, caused its findings and their portents to be disregarded and even in some sections to be resented. Gradually, however, we have come to recognize the significance of this report and to know that the deficiencies which the Commission found were, and are, of the deepest concern to our national life.

From the national point of view, it is perfectly legitimate to raise the question as to whether the conditions of life under which any section of our population lives are such as to handicap efficient citizenship and national vitality. It is natural, therefore, that the nation should be concerned about the conditions of life on the farm. A democracy, above all other forms of government, demands an enlightened citizenship on the part of all its members. It demands at least a degree of sympathy and appreciation of interests other than their own. It demands for its success a knowledge of, and interest in, national, state, and local affairs. These are its very essence. It doesn't matter, therefore, whether it is the problem of the city slum, the problem of immigration, the problem of the leisure class of the city, or the problem of the relatively

isolated farmer, it is a problem of national concern to a nation which attempts to be a democracy.

In addition to that phase of citizenship which has to do with enlightened political action, the nation has a further concern in the life and accomplishments of its population. It wants to be assured that each section of its citizenry is performing efficiently its division of the nation's task. The United States as a nation wants to be assured that life, conditions, and opportunities on the American farm are such as to make it possible for the American farmer to perform successfully his division of society's labor. This is not to say that the nation is a taskmaster whose purpose it is to drive its servants at top speed of production no matter what the consequence. It must, however, be interested in their productive efficiency. The World War heightened the already growing realization on the part of the nation, and on the part of the farmer himself, of his share of the nation's task. It was not until this time of crisis, and its accompanying need for great quantities of food and other raw products, that the whole country came to recognize that farming is one of our great specialized industries. Previous to this time, except in rare instances, we had thought of farming problems largely as local problems. Factory and transportation industries had received national attention and encouragement in far greater degree than had farming. The great need for efficient farm production, so universally responded to by the farmers of the nation, did more to brew national concern about farm efficiency than anything that had ever before happened. It is probably safe to say that the problem of rural efficiency from the national viewpoint will never again be absent from national thought and national programs.

If we take the 1920 census statistics for the twenty leading industries of the nation, we find that those industries producing 39.2 per cent of our national products are businesses dependent directly or indirectly upon farming. If these be added directly to the farm values we discover that 59.1 per cent of our national production in 1920 had its source in the enterprise of farming. The United States is, and will con-

tinue for years to come to be, fundamentally an agricultural nation whether the majority of our population continues to live on the soil or not and whether we measure our national wealth in terms of the raw products from the farm or in terms of the products of other industries which could not be maintained without our farm production.

The Problem of Rural Efficiency from the Farmer's Point of View.—In periods of national stress, such as prevailed during the World War, it is natural that farmers, as all others, should measure their efficiency in national terms or even in world terms. It is too much to expect, however, that the farmer will carry on his enterprise wholly under this altruistic stimulus during times of falling prices and under conditions far removed from world effects. Efficiency, from his viewpoint, must be measured in terms which apply directly to his farm, his family, and his community, if they are to be stimuli which urge him to greater effort. For him the problem of efficiency is a problem of adjustment to his own immediate physical and social environment. He measures his efficiency by whether he is winning his battle against nature, whether he is measuring up to the general standards of agricultural economy, whether he is making a success out of farming. He is also concerned with the condition of his family and community life. He wants to know whether pathological elements are continually developing in his home and neighborhood because of poor farming methods or poor community facilities. Furthermore, he is somewhat bound to measure the efficiency and adequacy of his life in terms of happy adjustments between his farm and the city centers. If his contacts with the business enterprises of the city are unhelpful or unwholesome, he will consider it an agricultural inefficiency. Recently he has expanded his horizon until his problem of efficiency includes large groups of farmers and, in some cases, all farmers of the nation. He has become class conscious and is not only asking himself whether he is a man with a program of improvement and advancement but is also asking himself whether the whole class to which he belongs is a class or group with a program for improvement and advancement. His meas-

ure of efficiency is no longer a static measure. He looks to the future and wants to know whether his outlook on the farm, and, indeed, whether the outlook of farming itself, is one of possible increasing success. This viewpoint of the farmer, even though tinged with selfishness, is one of the most significant things in the nature of the "Rural Problem" for it indicates that he is alive to his own problems and, being alive to them, will rapidly see to their solution. Some of the significant things to which this forward look and the progressive measures of efficiency have led, and which are of deepest significance to both rural and national life, may be summarized as constituting the nature of the rural problem. The modern farmer is looking to a better use of his soil, to better breeds of plants and animals, to the elimination of pests and parasites, all of which not only lead to more efficient farming but which make the nation a more powerful producing agricultural unit and furnish the world a greater amount of foodstuffs and other raw products. He is looking to an increasing use of machine power, which, added to the factor just listed, has already made it possible for him to support an ever growing urban and national population and at the same time make his own enterprise more efficient and more pleasant. He is bent on learning better business methods and creating more efficient market and exchange relationships. These are not only progressive measures for his own efficiency but measures which will undoubtedly eliminate much of the waste which has attached itself to these processes in the past. Finally, the problem of rural efficiency must be measured, and is being measured, by the criteria of whether farming is a mere occupation or a real profession and whether the farmer is a person who is successful enough and forward looking enough to be planning for a better home, a better church, a better school, better means of transportation and communication, better health conditions, better recreation facilities, more opportunity for sociability, higher moral ideals, and a more adequate community life.

The Influence of Farming on Other Great Nation-wide Occupations.—The interest shown by other industries and the

people of other occupations in farm production and farm prices shows how thoroughly agriculture is woven into all of our business relationships. Such interest is often looked upon by the farmer as attempts to fix the prices of his products. Be this as it may, the fact that other great business enterprises take farming into their business calculations is sufficient proof that he cannot be left out of a consideration of the nature of the rural problem.

Nothing is more foolish than to think of the rural problem as a simple or a single problem. The destinies of over fifty million rural dwellers and the future of a great nation rest far more upon the growing consciousness of its significance, a thorough analysis of its elements and a deliberate attempt at its solution than upon many other problems to which students of society, statesmen, and the general public have given serious concern.

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CHAPTER III

FARMING AND FARM PEOPLE

THE PEOPLE OF RURAL AMERICA

The Amount of Our Rural Population.—There were in 1920, 51,398,144 people living in what the United States Census classified as rural areas. This classification included all who lived in towns or villages with less than 2,500 inhabitants. Over 48 per cent (48.6 per cent) of all the people who live in the forty-eight states of the United States live in rural areas; 40.1 per cent of the national population lives in the open country or unincorporated villages. The rural population of the nation has increased every decade since the first colonists settled in this country. There has, however, been a smaller per cent of our total population living in the open country with each succeeding decade. This is just another way of saying that with the increase in our national population an increasing proportion of the people have come to live in cities. The following table gives the data for the last five decades.

TABLE I.—DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL POPULATION BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS SINCE 1880

Year	Rural Population, Per cent	Urban Population, Per cent
1880	70.5	29.5
1890	63.9	36.1
1900	59.5	40.5
1910	53.7	46.3
1920	48.6	51.4

The percentage decline in rural population should not suggest a lessening magnitude of American rural society and its

problems. We have today the largest rural population of our national history. Nor as we pointed out in Chap. II need we be deeply concerned because people are leaving the farms for the city, unless there are inherent in rural society defects so damaging as to handicap the efficiency and welfare of those who reside upon the farm.

The cities have grown more rapidly in population than the country areas because a great majority of the immigrants coming to the United States have gone into the cities and because improved farm machinery and the removal of many refining processes from the farm have made it possible for the agricultural population to produce enough raw products to support an ever-increasing national population.

The Character of Rural Population.—The character of the rural population is more significant than the amount of rural population. Population composition is usually measured. It is normal age and normal sex distribution and the ethnic constituents of the population that make for normal social life in many ways. At the present time the rural areas have an excess of people under fifteen years of age, a deficiency of those between fifteen and forty-five years of age and nearly the same distribution as cities in the ages of forty-five years and over. This condition is probably accounted for by the fact that immigrants who usually rank in the middle-age groups make up a comparatively small portion of the rural population. Then, too, the migration from the country to the city is heavier among those who have reached or approached the age of maturity and who are less than forty-five years of age. The general effects of such a situation are that it gives the rural districts more than their share of the burden of educating the youth of the country, depletes the rural population of a portion of people in the ages of early maturity just when they are in the virile stages of their lives, robs the open country of the advancement and progress which such people usually promote and lessens the proportion of the rural population who are in the economic producing groups.

Dr. C. J. Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture, presents the following facts about the significance of the age distribution of rural people:

> In the total farm population of the country (1920) 25.7 per cent are under ten years of age. Put in concrete form: In a unit of 10,000 farm people 1,900 young people would be non-producing children. The farm unit would be carrying a handicap of 670 children, and the city would, theoretically, have 670 more producers. In the 30,000,000 city group there are 2,000,000 fewer children under ten years of age than in 30,000,000 farm people. . . . The extra burden of . . . children to rear and educate, with 2,000,000 fewer producers to do it, raises a serious question on the score of how to do it. It is evident that the farm population is pouring this continuous surplus of adolescents, ready reared and ready educated by farm people, into city groups as producers of city wealth.[1]

An equal number of males and females is generally considered best for a normal and balanced social life. The balance between the two sexes is maintained by the laws of nature and our social structure, chiefly through the institution of monogamic families, is built upon this distribution. In the United States as a whole the ratio of males to females is about 104 to 100, chiefly due to an excessive male immigration from other countries. The rural districts have about 110 males to 100 females. This is probably due to the fact that practically all the wage and salary-earning positions open to women are in cities. If there were not such easy communication between urban and rural areas this excess of males would probably lead to vice and immorality, as it undoubtedly does in the frontier areas of the west and northwest sections of the nation where the ratio of men to women is far in excess of that in other sections of the nation. The fact that a larger portion of both men and women living in rural areas are married than is the case in cities indicates that the excess of females in cities has done more to upset the normal balance of social life there than the excess of males has in the open country.

The Movement of Rural Population.—Farm economic and social life competes with city economic and social life for the

[1] *Proceedings Sixth National Country Life Conference,* 1923, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

population of the nation. A somewhat similar competition goes on between the different rural sections of the nation. These competitions lead to a continuous shifting of rural people. How great this shifting is it is impossible to know, but some of the facts that are ascertainable indicate significant tendencies in present rural society. Rural population changes should be measured in two ways in order to get the full knowledge of what is happening in our national social structure; first by the absolute shifts, which mean that specific people have moved from one place to another and second, by the relative increase in population which shows which areas are becoming more densely populated, which are static and which are actually losing people.

From the beginning of our national history until very recently land opportunities have been the chief exciting forces which stimulated the movements in our population. As early as 1676, following King Philip's War, the lure of land began to pull settlers out of the earliest colonies. The movement into adjacent lands was steady but slow for a hundred years. Population moved west into Pennsylvania and south down the Piedmont Plateau. Some fur traders followed the Ohio and other rivers considerably farther into the west. Daniel Boone, during this period, crossed the mountains and got as far west as Tennessee and Missouri.[1] The continuous movement westward in search of land opportunities during the second century of our national life reached almost a stage of exodus and migration during the last half of the nineteenth century. The statement was made by a transitory observer in 1817 that, "Old America seems to be breaking up and moving westward." Many New England towns had more population in 1790 than they had in 1810 or 1820. This movement continued until the great central valleys of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers were populated after which it continued more slowly.[2]

Since 1900, the shifting of population has been stimulated by different forces than those which dominated up to that

[1] Turner, F. J., *The Frontier in American History,* pp. 67-125, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1921.

[2] Schmidt and Ross, *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture,* Chap. VIII, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925.

time. Now only specific agricultural causes, such as the opening of Indian reservations, in Oklahoma and South Dakota, or the promotion of irrigation areas, make any great disturbance in settled population. The currents are now stimulated by industrial development. Most of the 2,000 counties which increased in population between 1910 and 1920 included within their borders some industrial development. On the other hand, most of the 1,000 counties which declined in population during this decade were rural counties.

Space does not permit of a detailed or statistical presentation of these more recent movements of rural population. From the facts already given it is apparent that the chief movement is from the rural to urban centers; that it is of persons who are in the early years of maturity, and that it is to a large degree from the areas less favorably endowed with natural resources into those more favorably endowed. The shift among the rural people from one agricultural area to another agricultural area largely ceased with the end of the great movement into free lands. In addition to the movement thus far mentioned, there are the continued shiftings of farm tenants and other landless tillers of the soil from one farm to another and from one community to another.

If we attempt to list and classify the movements of rural population, we must say that from the beginning of our national history until about 1900, certainly until 1890, the movements were westward into new agricultural regions and since that time have been cityward into industrial centers. The cause of the movement in the first instance was almost wholly the lure of land opportunities. The causes of the latter movement are the lure of higher wages, shorter hours, and apparently better economic opportunity of city occupations; the lure of better educational and social institutions of the city; and the lure of the pleasure advantages of city life. In addition to these are the seasonal movements of farm laborers to and from the wheat, beet, cranberry, and other types of farm fields, and the continuous shiftings of landless persons and families who because of their poor living condi-

tions and meagre economic incomes seek year after year to mitigate these facts by moving from farm to farm.

The results of these movements are not yet well analyzed. Certain it is that people do not leave the place of their birth and the community and family life into which their lives and interests are woven without what seems to them adequate cause. There must be, therefore, in rural life stern forces at work which affect those who stay on the farm, though often unconsciously, as well as those who leave. Yet more certain is it that stable and efficient community life is seriously handicapped by the sudden influx and exodus of seasonable labor and by any large number of shifting tenant and hired-men families. An attempt at surveying the occupation of agriculture should offer some suggestion toward analysis and give us some appreciation of the general social significance of the problems involved.

THE OCCUPATION OF FARMING

Farming as a National Enterprise.—Few large communities or great groups of people have ever existed without farming as one of their basic economic enterprises. It has been said that when the world was created farming began. While this statement is not entirely correct, it is true that no society above the "hunting and fishing" stage has ever existed without some agricultural pursuit. Agriculture was in time, and is in importance, the first of the great modern industries.

Farming has passed through many stages and is today of many types. The peasant farming of Middle and Southern Europe, the great small-grain farming of Canada, Australia, and Argentine, the crude farming of the Philippine Islands, the intensive farming of Belgium and Holland, the dairy farming of Denmark, horticulture and viticulture are but a few examples of the many forms of enterprise which the occupation of farming may take. We have in the United States practically all these different types of farming. Each is carried on in a different section of the country, many times by people of different national stock, and each develops its

distinct culture, type of community, and mode of life. Through all these types, however, there run similarities. Farmers the world over are more like each other than they are like any other occupational group. When we confine ourselves to our own national group the similarity becomes greater. There is, therefore, sufficient likeness in these agricultural environmental influences, in the types of work and the modes of life of American agriculturalists to make it possible to generalize about the occupation of farming, its mode of life and its national importance.

We still have practically one-half of our population living upon the farm or in villages which depend almost wholly upon farming. Of the 42,000,000 persons gainfully employed in the United States, 26.3 per cent of them are agriculturists. Our manufacturing and mechanical pursuits combined include only 30.8 per cent of those gainfully employed, about two million more persons than are operating in the enterprise of farming. The group, classified in the census report as Manufacturing and Mechanical, includes every type of worker from dressmaking and baking to manufacturing iron and steel. The occupational group standing third in the list is "Trade." It includes only about one-third as many persons as does agriculture. Only a little more than one million farm women are classified as being gainfully employed. If those women whose duties and enterprises, such as poultry raising, butter making, etc., which make them deserving of being classified as gainfully employed, were to be counted, the agriculturists would constitute over one-third of all the gainfully employed in the United States. There is no other occupational group in the world that constitutes so composite and mighty an influence as do our 13,000,000 American farmers.

One-fifth of our total national wealth is in farms. One-third of our national wealth is in the open country. Corn is our greatest national product. Cotton is our greatest export article. When we add livestock and wheat production, we begin to appreciate the magnitude of our farming industry. The value of all our farm products in 1919 was $25,000,000,000. The value of our agricultural exports that year was

over $4,000,000,000. Farmers during that year practically fed themselves, and furnished most of the food supply for our great urban population and furnished 53 per cent of our export values.[1]

It is scarcely possible to overestimate the function and influence of the farm enterprise in our national life. One crop failure over any large percentage of our farming area results in a commercial crisis, and a series of such failures inevitably results in a thoroughgoing industrial depression. The success or failure of the farming industry has more to do with our national prosperity than any other one thing. A complete failure of the national wheat crop during one year in the United States, in addition to reducing hundreds of farmers to insolvency, would lessen the actual purchasing power of the nation by millions of dollars. It would close down hundreds of mills and other refining industries which depend upon wheat as raw products; would lessen the annual earning power of all transportation lines, national and international; would have serious influence upon our balance of trade with other nations; would tie up millions of dollars in farm mortgage credits; destroy the business of large groups of commission men and other middlemen, and would so increase the price of bread to all consumers as to eliminate it from thousands of American family tables. The nation can indeed well afford to see that her great farm life and farm population is well cared for and her farm business carefully planned.

It is of concern to our industrial life whether the farmer is performing adequately his stewardship of the soil, whether he is getting a fair reward for his labor and investment, whether we have a right balance between urban and rural dwellers and especially between urban and rural enterprises, whether transportation and communication facilities leading to and from the farm are adequate, whether we are giving farmers educational opportunities, political expression, and in every way most thoughtful consideration. Whether our farming is efficient and whether our farm population is prosperous and happy is indeed a problem of national importance.

[1] *United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1920,* p. 1777.

The Influence of Agriculture on Our International Relationships.—We have already noted the dominant rôle played by the occupation of agriculture in our national life and in our export trade. Other nations still look upon us as an agricultural nation. During the World War they measured our strength and assistance more by our power to furnish raw food products than by any other one thing. At all times they have depended upon our farms to supply the raw products for their factories. American crop failures are almost as serious to them as to our own people. Furthermore, our exports of agricultural products are so great that our favorable balance of trade depends very largely upon the success of the occupation of farming. It would probably be false fear and false pride to imagine that we must forever maintain among the nations of the world our dominant position in agriculture or sacrifice our world status. It is nevertheless true that our whole body of economic international relationships must, and will, be altered in the near future unless the great enterprise of farming is regarded and cared for in terms of its vital international importance.

The Relation of Farming to Other Business Enterprises.—The facts already stated indicate the relation of farming to some other business enterprises. Many other enterprises depend almost wholly upon the products of the farm to sustain them. Railroads received, in 1921, 24.4 per cent of all their tonnage from the farms and forests; 32.8 per cent of their total tonnage was either raw or refined agricultural products; 36.6 per cent of all revenue freight cars were used in hauling raw farm products, and 45 per cent in hauling either raw or refined farm products. In the "western section," 54.1 per cent of all cars were used in hauling farm products, and 60.5 per cent were used in hauling either raw or refined farm products. It was but a few years back in our national history that they received 75 per cent of their freight tonnage from agricultural sources. The great railroad building era was synonymous with the opening up of vast agricultural areas in the Middle West, West, and Southwest. It is scarcely an exaggeration

to say that the majority of the railroad mileage in the United States has been built either to serve new areas of agriculture, or in contemplation of agricultural development. Flour mills, cotton and woolen mills, packing plants, creameries, cheese factories, and numerous other refining and manufacturing industries are absolutely dependent on the products of the farm. In fact, all great enterprises except mining, quarrying, fishing, and oil production find either the source of their raw products, or sale for their goods in the farm enterprise. The middleman is no exception to the rule. He may be more indirectly, and in less degree, dependent upon the raw products of the farm. If this is so, it is only because he is a middleman, playing between the farm and other industries or between two or more industries neither of which may be farming.

As was noted above many other occupations depend upon farmers to furnish them with the raw products necessary for the operation of their enterprises. They are, therefore, interested in the amount and type of farm products produced. Cities which a few years ago gave no thought to the successes and failures of their surrounding agricultural territory are today developing "production bureaus," "extension bureaus," and even farm advisors. It is quite the habit for railroads, express companies, and some manufacturing concerns to develop and maintain elaborate educational schemes for helping farm production and marketing.

Small towns especially are gradually coming to recognize that their very existence and life depends on the great enterprise of farming in the territory in which they are located. Furthermore, all men, no matter what their occupations, wear clothes and eat food, the prices of which depend partly, if not largely, on farm production. All that is necessary to make men of all occupations and walks of life realize how dependent they are upon the occupation of farming is to develop in them an intelligence concerning the facts of their own existence. We may, therefore, in the future expect to see men of other occupations and professions become more and more interested in and concerned about the enterprise of farming.

FARM LIFE

Farming as an Enterprise.—The great occupations and professions of society are entered and pursued by people because they find either immediate satisfaction in these pursuits or because they expect some day to get satisfaction from having pursued them. These satisfactions are gotten either out of their daily work, the money which their enterprise yields or from the conditions under which they live. Farmers probably less than any other class of people analyze their occupations in terms of these differential facts. They do know, however, whether they are living in prosperity or poverty, whether they are getting enjoyment out of their work and leisure, and whether they consider living on farms and in a rural community acceptable.

Farming is in a middle position so far as money making is concerned. It is neither a big moneymaking nor a poor moneymaking enterprise. This is true because farming, for the most part, is not carried on as a "big business." It is generally a family affair. The amount of capital is limited, and production is not carried on in a large enough scale to yield the enormous profits, either gross or net, that can be made in corporate, trust, or even big partnership organizations. On the other hand, farm products in themselves generally insure a living to the farmer and his family. He, as a tiller of the soil, never becomes a millionaire; neither does he, except in extreme cases, become a pauper. His actual return on investment is, throughout the whole nation, less than 4 per cent and his capital holdings are on the average too small for him to accrue a very large net income. Yet he is generally richer at the end of each year than he was at the beginning of that year. This is more universally true of the farmer than of any group of men who work with their hands. On the other hand, farming has probably developed fewer really rich men than any other one of our great industries in which men have capital invested.

Since it is not the purpose of this chapter to make a thoroughgoing economic analysis of the farming enterprise, but

simply to give the reader an appreciation of where farming stands when measured by monetary standards, we can probably best summarize this section by listing, categorically, the arguments for and against farming as a business prospect.

The arguments against farming would run in broad generalization somewhat as follows: (1) There are greater returns, possibly, from other business enterprises, for instance, from the manufacturing or transportation enterprise, or even from such expert professions as those of lawyers and doctors. (2) Farming being more or less a seasonal trade, the farmer is liable to have little ready cash, except at certain seasons of the year. (3) His credit facilities are generally poor. He cannot compete with speculators for short-time loans and money lenders do not want to tie up their money in long-time loans. (4) He has all the shortcomings of a private isolated firm in his power to mobilize capital and in his power to control his supply of goods. Thus he is often beaten in world competition.

The arguments in favor of farming as a business enterprise might be stated as follows: (1) His investments are relatively safe. The great financial losses do not occur in farming as they do in the more speculative enterprises. (2) He is comparatively free from the price régime, *i.e.*, his life and death do not depend upon the price of his products in the direct way that a hired laborer's or manufacturer's do. He can, if necessary, live from his own garden, fields, flocks, and herds. (3) His whole family can work as a unit in his business enterprise to both their economic and social advantage. (4) His business is little subject to industrial wars, labor upheavals, strikes, lockouts, and other phases of industrial strife.

It must be concluded, then, that farming as a pure business enterprise, while it offers little opportunity for accumulation of great fortunes, nevertheless does offer a fairly satisfactory business outlook.

Farm Life as a Desirable Mode of Living.—The conditions both physical and spiritual under which persons work day by day, year in and year out, are influences which are so constant, even though we are unconscious of them, that they

make up the atmosphere from which people and groups imbibe the very texture and fiber of personality and character. The things that people do day by day dictate, or in fact are their modes of life. The man is what his habits are and his habits are made up of the things which he repeatedly or continually does. A man's occupation, therefore, more than any other one thing places him in his social group or class. Farm people because of this fact are to a degree different in their thinking from all other classes of people. Traditions get attached to continually repeated modes of activity and many times continue as modes of thinking long after the forms of activity themselves have changed. Because of this fact the modes of activities of previous generations, especially of generations immediately preceding and related to the present one, influence the present generation's way of looking at things. The farmer is different in his mode of life and mode of thinking, not only because he lives under different circumstances and constitutes a definite occupational or professional group, but because this group has a long occupational history. Let us summarize these influences as they register themselves in the farmer's mode of life and mode of thinking.

The occupation of farming is carried on under different physical and social conditions from any other occupation. Farming is carried on under the most extreme isolation of any of our occupations. The fact that the farmer works hundreds or even thousands of days during his lifetime in solitude can not help but make of him a different man from the city dweller, who is practically never out of the sight of other persons. The fact that his family group so completely overshadows the influence of all other social groups must register itself in his personality and his thinking. The fact that he has practically no opportunity to observe the technical processes of other industries robs him of valuable stimuli to thought. He lives and works in the great out-of-doors, is stimulated by fresh air, buffeted by the elements, observes and works with growing, blooming and bearing things. All these things reflect themselves in a very subtle manner in his moods, temperament, and character. His isolation, while

it robs him of social and industrial contacts, is not all bad in its influence. It gives him a freedom from the complexities, nervous strain, and menace of evil influences which are typical of large sections of congested city areas. It gives him a degree of independence and individual initiative which is not possible where people live in great masses, makes him his own boss, the master of his own daily work, and the head of his own family. These facts also register themselves in his personality and make of him a different citizen from any other known to the nation.

In addition to these constant influences of environment and processes just described, there are certain purely occupational necessities which make his mode of life pleasant or unpleasant, as the case may be. His work is much of it hard manual labor. He is, therefore, often subject to a fatigue which is not only unpleasant in itself but which is often so extreme that it stultifies his moments of leisure and makes him less capable of carrying on efficiently the thinking and planning which give him a creative interest in his occupation and a brighter outlook on life. Furthermore, his manual labor is, much of it, such as to demand a use of gross strength rather than to cause him to make subtle adjustments; and it is out of the necessity of making subtle adjustments that the finer modes of thinking come. In contrast to this, is the fact that he works at diversified tasks. One day he does this, the next day something else, and during each day he does many different things. This demand for diversification of activity, while it may not induce higher thought processes, does develop habits of individual judgment and gives an opportunity for individual initiative. This fact, plus the fact that he is his own boss—in most cases owns his business, and is confronted with a good opportunity to own his own farm—does more to add zest and outlook to his life than any other set of facts.

The stultifying effects of the monotonous routine on the farm woman are even worse than those on the farm man. Her adjustments are not so much to the stern forces of nature as they are to the farm routine and to human processes,

which are essential to the organization of the farm work. In addition she must care for members of the family. She is robbed of much of the exultation and interest which goes with the out-of-doors life. She is likely to have less machinery with which to do her work; her hours are longer even than those of the farm man; her work is more routine and less creative. Her adjustments are more varied and subtle for they are largely adjustments to human beings and to processes which are carried on by some one other than herself. She must fit her work into the more important processes of plant and animal production upon the farm and these processes are directly under someone else's control. The solution of the problem of rural welfare demands first and foremost a program of happy life for the men and women who operate the farms.

We have already referred to the isolation of the American farm and the lack of contact with neighbors and other people. These should be listed as weak spots and stultifying influences of our rural communities. They are, we are convinced, a transient and rapidly passing weakness. Because of this fact and because this has been already alluded to and will be discussed from many angles further on, we will pass them by with the hope that the next section will reveal not only their significance but will indicate the direction in which their solution must lie.

It would be not only unfair to the farmer, but untrue to the facts, not to note that there are forces and tendencies at work in the processes of farming and in the life of rural communities which have shown their power to alter much that we have just described. The modern husbandman is as different from the traditional farmer of two decades ago as this traditional farmer was different from the backwoodsman who hewed his small farm plot out of the primeval forest and lived his life of somber melancholy in proud isolation. Every step in the progress of farming has brought new methods of action and new modes of thought. The modern farmer does not live within isolation as a matter of pride. He seeks to overcome it. He does not trust to signs of the moon for

guidance but turns to the agricultural college experiment station, farm bulletin, and farm journal, for direction and assistance. He no longer farms only with the hoe, shovel, and pitchfork but with the tractor, self binder, and hay loader. He no longer works sixteen hours every day and drags to bed too tired to think or even talk. He has his telephone, his daily paper, his automobile, his country and city neighbors, and his leisure time. The consequence is that he not only lives in a different farming process but in a different society, has a different mode of life, and different type of thought.

The coming of science and machines into farming has so lightened his work and increased his productive capacity that he has more leisure time and more opportunity to spend it profitably. The increase in leisure time has two very significant effects upon the life of the farmer: it gives him more opportunity for reading, for planning his work, and for contacts with other people and it releases him from the mental paralysis which results from continuous fatigue. Furthermore, the very processes of scientific and machine farming are direct stimuli to thinking. Farming with power and riding machines give him, in themselves, a degree of leisure time in comparison to the process of plodding all day long behind the team and being compelled to control by brute force the direction and operation of the farm implement. The more complex farm machines give him new problems altogether. He does not, like the common factory worker, merely feed the machine. He operates it, masters its technologies, repairs it, experiments with it, and in so doing finds himself dealing not with problems of mere force but with processes, invention, and manipulation. This fact, coupled with the yet more subtle and creative control and manipulation of plant and animal production according to scientific methods, has resulted in two very significant facts. First, it has increased his power to control, master, and use the forces of nature and has lessened the buffeting influences of nature upon him. Second, it has largely increased the mysteries of nature and given him a greater faith in his own creative power than in the power of tradition and signs.

Another set of tendencies and another set of inventions have entered his community and institutional life. With his greater amount of leisure and his more efficient production has come an opportunity and a desire for more human contacts. At the same time, the telephone, the rural free delivery, the daily paper, the radio, and the automobile have become available to him. Each of these has widened his circle of human contacts and made them a more constant and stable part of his habits and thoughts. Furthermore, they subject him to the constant influences of the larger neighborhood, community, nation and world. These larger human groups become a part of his thinking, a part of his planning, a part of his life. Institutions take on a new significance to him. Good roads, schools, churches, and neighborhood centers are all now a part of his scheme of existence. They can all be made either to promote the techniques of farming, the business of farming, or to change the mode of farm life. He has, therefore, a vision of their usefulness to him and his usefulness to them which means a future for them such as their past has never been. They, in turn, together with the many other institutions and agencies which exist in this new and larger environment of his, will continue to push forward and accelerate the processes and tendencies which are making the modern farmer, and remaking the face of the open country.

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CHAPTER IV

FARM LABOR

WHO IS TO DO THE WORK UPON THE FARM?

Sources of Farm Labor Supply.—Those who make the farm labor supply consist of the farm operator himself; other members of his family—the wife and children—permanent hired men and women; transient or seasonal laborers; professional groups—threshing, shelling, and shredding gangs; and exchange laborers, and neighbors. In addition to these sources of farm labor there are the work animals and machines. The non-human elements and the extent to which they are used have much to do with the problem of supplying sufficient labor force and a great deal to do with the ease or difficulty with which the labor is accomplished by the laborer. Their significance will be discussed later. Here we are interested in the human sources, the difference between these sources, the extent to which the various sources are employed on the farm, the difficulty in obtaining them, the reasons for these difficulties, and, above all, the effect upon individual, family, and community life of farm labor and farm laborers.

That there is a scarcity of farm labor is almost universally asserted by farmers. Whether one thinks there is or not, depends upon the point of view from which the facts are discussed. Some mean by the scarcity of farm labor that hired men can no longer be had for $20 per month. Some mean that there is not a sufficient amount of floating labor in the country to fill the seasonal demands of the harvest time. Some mean that labor cannot be had without paying enough wages to attract city laborers to the country. Some mean that farmers' wives and children are too often compelled to work in the field. Some mean that agricultural production is being restricted because farmers would rather leave their land

idle than to pay what they think are exorbitant wages. Finally, some mean that agricultural production is not sufficiently remunerative to make it possible to compete with other industries for the labor supply of the nation. Those who accept the last interpretation may feel with others that such a condition is a calamity, or they may assert that it is a condition, which, if not tampered with, will some time rectify itself by reducing agricultural production and by so doing raise agricultural prices to a level high enough to make it possible to pay an attractive scale of farm wages to the men who now are working at city occupations. Whichever of these interpretations is correct, it is true that farmers almost universally assert that they have difficulty in getting enough labor to carry on their operations satisfactorily. Furthermore, it is universally known that thousands of persons, who at one time were working upon our farms, are now working in city occupations and that few have left other occupations to enter agriculture. Whether the farms should have a greater or a lesser proportion of our national laboring population than they now have is an economic problem, and a mooted one at that. We shall confine ourselves largely to a social interpretation of why there is difficulty in supplying our farms with labor. It is our faith that a complete understanding of these social facts will contribute much to an understanding of the economic facts.

If when speaking of farm labor we are thinking of hired men, then it should be recognized that there is supposed to be a process inherent in the agricultural enterprise which continually depletes the hired-man supply for the farms. Many men start their climb toward ultimate farm ownership as hired men. If they are successful they soon move up into the tenant stage. Once this step is successfully taken they are no longer available as hired men. Indeed, they may themselves become employers of hired men. It is the difficulty of obtaining hired men more than anything else that has given rise to discussions of a depleted labor supply on our farms.

The chief cause of the difficulty is that the city attracts the labor supply from the farms. It takes not only the floating and transient laborer and that class which used to constitute

our permanent hired men, but it attracts the farmers' sons and daughters as well. It does so because the wage scale in the city seems high when compared with that of the farm; because the hours are regular and short in the city, while they are irregular and long on the farm; because the city furnishes entertainment and social opportunities for leisure hours and the country does not; because men work in gangs and in groups in the city and largely alone in the country; and because organized labor furnishes a means of securing better working conditions in the city, while the rural laborer must accept his lot or leave. Even if the laborers were just as willing to work on the farm as in the city, the seasonal demand of farming would make the situation hard to meet. It is estimated that 46 per cent of all demands for hired labor on the farm is for short-term laborers. During the planting season the demands are great; during the harvesting season they are abnormal; during the remainder of the year they are light. In many sections it is only during the two rush seasons that a demand for hired men exists. In those sections which practice a one-crop system even the operator and his family are idle a great portion of the time. If these situations are to be met, the men who supply labor for the farms during the rush season must be mobile. The mobile, transient, or floating laborer is generally an inefficient laborer. The most efficient laborer is generally the man who is sufficiently interested in his job to want to follow it as an occupation, and sufficiently interested in his home life to want to be with his family. He can do neither of these desirable things and assist in supplying the demand for transient, or seasonal, farm labor. It is estimated that 1,500,000 farmers use their hired men only a portion of the year. Unless agricultural production is so organized as to eliminate the demand for these great masses of transient laborers, it is inevitable that we shall continue to have difficulty in supplying our farm labor needs.

Another phase of the lack of labor supply on the farm, though one which is not so widely advertised, is the impossibility of obtaining domestic or household assistance. The

"hired girl," except the negro hired woman, is practically a thing of the past. It is difficult now to obtain even negro women for domestic work on the farm. The only negro women who are within reach of the domestic household are the wives or the daughters of the negro hired men who are working for the farm operators. The fact that their husbands and fathers hold fairly remunerative jobs makes these women unwilling to work except in the "cotton patch" where they can be with great numbers of others and can draw relatively high wages. Another condition which makes it practically impossible to obtain other than negro help is that many new industries have recently opened for women. These industries are all in the city. Once in a city the woman enters non-domestic occupations because they pay better wages and, even more, because foreign and colored domestic servants have made household work for wages a more or less disreputable occupation. On the farm the hours of the domestic servant, unless she be some one who merely drops in for the day, are unbearably long and the work exceedingly servile. The rural hired girl is more or less an outcast in the community. If she ever gets an opportunity to mingle with others of her age and to participate in any sort of recreational life, it is when she avails herself of an invitation to go to some such affair as a public dance in a nearby city. Even then her escort is more than likely to have invited her with a conviction that her position indicates a possibility of his being able to practice some immorality with her.

Farm Labor Problems.—It is almost impossible to suggest remedies for certain phases of the problem just outlined. Farmers, above all people, will not listen to plans or programs which vary widely from their habitual practices, although the very plans suggested may be working elsewhere and may even be operating within a few years in their own communities. Gradually, however, the force of circumstance must discover a solution of this problem, for it is not to be expected that the young men and young women of the future, any more than those of the present, will accept positions as hired laborers on the farms if conditions and opportunities

are more satisfactory elsewhere. In times past the "hired man" and the "hired girl" lived with, and were largely treated as members of, the farm family. Today, few young people are even found in these occupations. The great majority of hired laborers on the farms and in the farm house are married persons or transients. Furthermore, it seems desirable from every point of view to look to these older and more settled laborers to furnish the chief supply of hired men and women for our farms. If this is to be done, homes must be provided for them and they must be assured fairly permanent employment. This permanent employment may be afforded by the farmer himself adopting that type of farming which uses his labor force the greatest portion of the year or by allowing the laborer to farm a small plot of ground to raise poultry, or to carry on some other enterprise which will use his time remuneratively when he is not needed by the operator. The homes must be provided by the operator and must be sufficiently adequate and attractive to make them desirable places in which to live and rear families.

As high a degree of standardization of hours and tasks as is possible on the farm must be adopted. The plea that farm work does not lend itself to standardization is of great force. The argument does not eliminate that very fact from being one of the chief difficulties in getting men to accept the positions as farm laborers. The only thing to do is to accept the inevitable and push the process of standardization as far as possible. It is notable that the very situations which lend themselves least to the standardization of hours are the situations which demand men in large numbers at given times. When men work in large groups there is always a tendency for them to force a set of standard hours. It is the harvesting or threshing gang and not the isolated farm hands who "stick their forks," or stop the particular task at a time acceptable to them. If the standardization of hours can be accomplished at times like harvest and threshing it can be done, to a much greater degree, at other times and in other farm enterprises. At any rate, there seem to be two outstanding alternatives, either something must be done other than that

which is the rule at present or the situation must be allowed to continue to develop in the direction of fewer and poorer farm laborers. Happily there are here and there those who have seen the necessity and desirability of attacking the problem. In the list of solutions presented below there appears nothing which is not already practiced in one or more communities of the country, though, of course, all of these solutions do not appear and do not need to appear in any one community.

Farm laborers must be furnished satisfactory residences. If the "hired man" is an unmarried man and of the same race as the operator who employs him, it will be necessary for him to be provided a home with the employing family. Here he should be as nearly upon an equal basis with other members of the family as possible. A possible alternative is to see that he is comfortably housed and well fed in the home of a married man on the place. If he is a married man, he should be furnished a comfortable, neat, and convenient home in which to live. Attached to the house should be a family garden, facilities for raising chickens, and an opportunity to produce meat and milk for his family. The home of the "hired man" should in no way be an annex to that of the owner. It should have a separate mail box, a separate telephone, and all the outbuildings essential to a separate and private home. Any other condition will serve not only to degrade the hired man and his family, but will introduce into the community a standard of living which no community can afford, and will widen the breach between the social status of the hired man's family and others of the community.

Working hours on the farm must as far as possible be standardized. A sufficient number of surveys have been made to prove that the average field day of the farm laborer, whether hired man or operator, is between nine and ten hours.[1] To this is added from one to five hours of "chores," depending upon the type of farming practiced by the operator. Ten hours a day including chores, is not an unreasonably long

[1] Taylor, H. C. and Black, J. D., "Farm Labor in Wisconsin," *Bulletin No. 316,* Agricultural Experiment Station of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

day's work under conditions which exist in the farm enterprise. If the hours are to exceed this length the laborer will be compelled to do the necessary things attached to his own separate home during the hours of the night and on Sundays. There are farms, and indeed whole farming sections, which consistently maintain such standard hours. Some of the operators of the farms working under the system are the greatest advocates of the system. If such were not the case, and if such a conclusion were not warranted by direct observation of such a system at work, the idea would not be promoted as a workable one for other sections.

The average pay for farm hands in 1917 was $28.87 with board, per month. This is an annual total of $346.44, provided the employment is steady. The monthly wage without board was $40.43, or an annual total of $486.16, provided employment was furnished throughout all twelve months of the year. During the harvest, the daily wage with board was $2.08, and without board $2.54. The daily wages during other than the harvest season was $1.56 with board and $2.02 without board.[1] Since 1917, the daily and monthly wages have been greatly increased. Since the 1917 wage greatly exceeded that of the pre-war period, however, that year is probably fairly representative of normal conditions as we may expect them to be after readjustment has taken place. A comparison of these wages with those paid in other industries should serve to give up a deep appreciation of the fact that farm laborers will continue to drift into these other occupations and thus deplete the farm labor supply unless something is done. Blacksmiths' wages for the year of 1917 averaged about $5 per day. Bricklayers' wages varied from $5 to $8 per day. Hod carriers' wages varied from $2.25 to $4 per day, with about an average of $3. Plumbers, plasterers, and other so-called skilled laborers were receiving at this same period from $5 to $7.50 per day. Even the most poorly paid laborers of the most poorly paid big industry of the nation, the "boom boys"

[1] *Crop Reporter,* March, 1918. For a later comparison the reader is referred to, *The Agricultural Situation, United States Department of Agriculture,* which reports regularly upon general trends of wages and prices.

of the steel mill, were receiving a weekly wage of $10.62. This gave them an annual wage of $552.44 or $67 per year more than the average farm laborer without board received during that same year.[1] It is recognized that farmers may not be able to meet these scales of city wages and yet make farming pay. This does not obviate the fact that they will have to do so or leave their farm labor problem unsolved. This solution may lie outside of the farmer's present scope of power. If so, we may expect him to develop a scope of power equal to the occasion through the means of controlling the profits of his enterprise by the development of farm-marketing organizations, which will place him in a position to control prices of farm produce; or we may have to wait until the depleted labor supply on the farm makes itself felt in lessened production and consequently better farm prices.

In some sections of the country, notably New England, farmers have developed supplementary industries which utilize the slack periods in profitable enterprises. There are a number of industries which lend themselves easily and practically to the situation. Rope making, woven-wire making, chair and basket making, pottery, and even weaving and canning are all enterprises which can be conducted almost as profitably upon a small- as upon a large-scale production. Every one of them has been, or is being, practiced some place in the United States. They have usually developed in those sections, and at those times, when the profits from farming are low. Everyone will probably agree that it is more practical to develop supplementary rather than conflicting crops, such as livestock and crops, than to introduce these handicrafts. Since these other industries have been and are being used to advantage in some places, they should be mentioned as contributions to the solution of the problem of developing a permanent and steady labor demand on the farm.

There is, without question, a tendency toward specialization of farm tasks, as well as a tendency toward specialized farming, taking place in American agriculture. The devel-

[1] *Monthly Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics,* Vol. VI, 1918, No. 2, pp. 123-137.

opment is so slow and the per cent of farm work done by these classes is so small that few are cognizant of the tendency. Threshing, shelling, shredding, and silo filling are examples of great fundamental farm tasks which are almost universally given over to specialists. Harvesting of small grain and even of corn and hay has at times and in places been taken over by these special groups also. Practically all blacksmithing, wagonsmithing and other shop work have long ago become artisan tasks. Butter and cheese making, and even butchering are fast disappearing from the farm. It is not inconceivable that the process of specialization might be carried much further. Some tasks of the farm do not lend themselves in the least to such a system. The chief thing which we may expect to be accomplished by the development of specialized groups is that the rush seasons' demands may be taken care of in this way, leaving the resident farm forces to carry on that portion of the labor which would then present a fairly constant set of tasks. The development of such a system of farming is by no means a mere Utopian scheme. As has been stated, it is already rapidly developing in relation to certain farm tasks. Furthermore, there is not a farming community in the great mixed farming section of the Middle West which does not have its man or men who spend a large portion of their time in doing the great machine and gang tasks, such as have been mentioned.

Employment agencies have for a long while been assisting in supplying farm laborers for the rush season. In the heart of the wheat belt, such cities as Topeka, Kansas City, Sioux Falls, Mitchell, and others have maintained free employment agencies during the harvest season. Commercial employment agencies have assisted also. The United States Post Office Department and the United States Bureau of Labor have regular machinery for assisting, not only during the rush season, but at all times. The county farm bureaus and demonstration agents assist within their own counties and through their state organizations. In their larger state and national federations, they furnish agencies which should contribute much to the solution of the farm labor supply problems.

For the last two decades city persons and even immigration officials have presented the idea of distributing a larger per cent of our immigrants to the farming districts. Farmers themselves have been inclined to look with disfavor upon the project. In New England, in the wheat fields of the West, and in a few other places, farmers have been willing to use the immigrant to supply the rush seasons' demands. The immigrant fits best into that type of farming which lends itself to European methods of agriculture. Furthermore, the immigrant has demonstrated a marked tendency to attain land ownership as quickly as possible rather than to remain a "hired man." From the farmers' viewpoint this is no solution to the farm labor problem. From the nation's viewpoint it may be exceedingly desirable to have these immigrants develop specialized farming, as the Scandinavians have developed the dairy industry in Minnesota and Wisconsin, as the Italians and others have developed vegetable gardening and horticulture and viticulture in some sections of New England, and New Jersey and some sections of the South.[1] These people contribute materially to the nation's food supply and have shown a great capacity to develop or even reclaim those areas which have been neglected by our native American farmers.

Domestic labor must be lightened and the hours shortened. None of the suggestions presented above directly touches the domestic labor problem. The removal of certain farm tasks from the farm and the handling of others by special groups lightens the work of the farm woman materially. Until some means is found, however, by which the hours of the house can be shortened and the work made lighter, there will continue to be difficulty in getting hired assistance. Whatever applies to the "hired girl" applies to the housewife. Furthermore, if domestic servants continue to become harder to obtain, the housewife problem must automatically grow intense. Some steps have been taken in the direction of solving both problems. There are a few instances where two domestic servants are employed and the work and hours are distributed in such

[1] See *Reports of Immigration Commission,* Vol. I, pp. 559-70.

a way as very greatly to decrease the drawback to this type of employment. The particular instances referred to are cases where one girl arises at five o'clock in the morning and continues to work until after the rush hours of noon, generally until about three o'clock in the afternoon. The other girl has the earlier hours of the forenoon to herself but assists from about ten o'clock until the evening work is completed. This utilizes the thirteen- or fourteen-hour day which is quite the rule over large sections, particularly during the rush seasons, adds an extra girl during the rush hours of the day, and yet reduces the hours of work for each of the girls and also the working hours of the house manager. If it were deemed desirable the hours could be reversed periodically. The problem of diminishing the work of the housewife and the whole gamut of house tasks will be discussed in the chapter on the farm home. It is sufficient to mention at this point that the solution lies in the direction of modern household equipment and labor-saving devices.

THE IRKSOMENESS OF FARM LABOR

Farm Labor Is Manual Labor.—Farm labor will for a long time to come continue to be manual labor. Manual labor is practically always irksome. This is especially true if the hours are long and the work heavy. We have already mentioned at different points that farm labor hours are long and that much of farm work is heavy. We have attempted to make comparisons between working hours, tasks, and working conditions of farm laborers and those in other manual pursuits. We have attempted to analyze the influence of farm work upon the life and thought of the agricultural laborer. The amount of manual work done on a farm during the cycle of a year is very great. The immensity of it during a life time is almost incomprehensible. During the period of a farmer's lifetime he probably steps on every square inch of crust of earth on his farm and on part of it thousands of times. He handles much of it, lifts it, and moves it. He walks, in a single season of cultivation and harvest, hundreds of miles,

sometimes for weeks, day after day in soft dirt. He handles hundreds and even thousands of tons upon the ends of fork and shovel handles. At times he is working at "break-neck" speed because of the rush of crops and conditions of weather. At other times his livestock keep him up at night. The woman's work, while not so heavy, is just as irksome and far more routine and uninspiring. Her work hours average longer than those of the man. She comes nearer working 7 days each week and 365 days each year. The processes at which she works are repeated over and over. A description of her work at its worst would include from thirteen to sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, cooking meals and washing dishes three times each day, making beds every day, sweeping and scrubbing regularly, lifting heavy tubs and buckets, making clothes and mending them, canning fruits and vegetables, working up dairy products, doing the weekly washing and ironing, taking care of children, raising poultry and gathering eggs, often working in the garden, sometimes helping with the milking and other chores, and even at times assisting with the field work. Not even visitors can be invited into the house without adding to her burdens nor can she take a day off without working late into the night before going or upon returning. It is not only the immensity of her task and its deadening daily routine but the fact that her work is to such a degree incapable of organization that makes it irksome. She may be compelled to wash, cook, care for chickens, and answer all the demands of her children at one time. This is an extreme picture—extreme in that by no means all farm women follow such practices. There are, however, hundreds of them who do all these things and in addition rear large families and assist in the field work. Where they have nothing but the house tasks to perform, the picture is none too bright as we shall see when we discuss the organization of the rural home.

Economic Effect of Labor-saving Machines on the Farm.—If there could be developed a system of farming by means of which the farmer and his family could man their own farm and home and could practice modern farming without forcing farm women into the field, violating child labor principles, or

robbing farm children of educational opportunities, and without subjecting all members of the family to inexcusably long hours, it would be a better solution of the farm labor problem than any system by means of which outside persons could be supplied to do farm tasks. It would be better, because it would obviate all the drawbacks to family and community life which come with the introduction of non-residents into these circles. It would be better, because it would decrease the difficulties which result when the outside persons are unobtainable, as is so often the case during the rush seasons and almost universally true in the case of domestic servants. The introduction of machinery and other labor-saving devices is the only thing which suggests such a possibility at our present stage of extensive farming. Already field work is largely done by machine and horsepower. Riding implements of all kinds eliminate the necessity of walking all day over soft and uneven ground. These riding implements are almost universally so well equipped with levers and other mechanical devices as to make it no longer necessary for the farmer to use his own strength and body to guide and control them. He now adjusts the machine, guides and oversees it, and drives the team or tractor. Actual hand work in the handling of some field crops is practically completely eliminated. Hay loaders and derricks, shredders, threshers, shellers, binders, tractors, and trucks, all motivated by horse, wind, or gasoline power, do the work he once did with his own hands. The presence of barns, sheds, and cribs, plus water systems and feeders of different kinds, makes the work of handling livestock much lighter. The introduction of the truck and the automobile cut the time and labor of transportation to about one-fourth of what it was when horses were universally used as the sole means of travel. The women of the farm have not shared equally in the profits and values of these labor-saving devices. Churns, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, fireless cookers, water systems, gas and oil stoves are some of the things which are most common. Many of the woman's machines, however, are mere improvements in ways of doing things rather than the substitution of non-human power for human power.

There is no just reason why every tool which lends itself to wind, water, or machine power should not be attached to these sources of power to as great an extent, in the case of woman's work, as has been done in the case of man's work.

Not only does the introduction of machinery lessen the irksomeness of farm labor but it increases the productiveness of man power many fold by saving time and multiplying the directive power of the human element. In 1830, it took three hours and three minutes of human labor to produce a bushel of wheat in the United States. In 1894, it required but ten minutes. Improvements have been made since that time and the human labor is today considerably less arduous than it was in 1830 when cradle and flail were the chief tools. In 1855, it required four hours and thirty-four minutes of human labor to produce a bushel of corn. In 1894, it required forty-one minutes. It took thirty-five and one half hours to produce, harvest, and bale a ton of hay in 1860. In 1894, it took but eleven and one-half hours. In 1841, it took thirteen and four-tenths minutes to produce a pound of seed cotton. In 1895, it took but four and seven-tenths minutes.[1]

The immense amount of time and energy saved over long periods of time by the introduction of farm machinery is almost impossible to calculate. Contrast the man with a hoe or even an old-fashioned walking plow with the following description:

> With a gang plow and five horses a man can plow from five to seven acres per day, completely turning over the soil, whatever its nature, and thoroughly pulverizing it. Plows are now being introduced, with ten to twenty fourteen-inch plows in a gang, which are propelled by a steam-traction engine and with which two men can plow from forty to sixty acres per day. A 110-horsepower machine plows, sows, and harrows at the same time a strip thirty feet wide, at the rate of three or four miles an hour, turning over the soil at the rate of eighty to one hundred acres a day, or under favorable conditions ten to twelve acres an hour. It thus performs work which ordinarily requires forty to fifty teams and men. . . .

[1] *United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Statistics Bulletin 94,* pp. 59-69.

There is a harrowing machine that reaches 100 feet in width, capable of harrowing 300 acres a day or 30 acres an hour.[1]

The amount of time saved in the production of the 1922 wheat crop alone, by modern methods over those used in 1830, was 2,713,179,166 hours or the time of 109,393 men working ten hours a day for 300 days. As a matter of fact, of course, no such a crop as that of 1922 was possible under the hand methods of production of 1830. This most striking illustration of the labor saved by the use of machinery in the production of one of our big crops is presented because we are so liable to overlook the biggest solution to the labor supply problem, due to the fact that it is an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary product or solution. Nor has the introduction of labor-saving devices on the farm by any means reached the fulness of its development. In 1910, we purchased eight times as much farm machinery in the United States as we did in 1880. The ratio between man, horse, and machine power is traveling consistently in the direction of a shift from man to beast, from beast to machine. This, in addition to reducing the time and irksomeness of human labor on the farm, is lessening the cost of production to the benefit of all who depend on farm products.

Social Effect of Labor-saving Devices on the Farm.—The introduction of machinery has not only improved production and made farming more profitable but it has made farming more desirable and has revolutionized farm life. The following stand out as some of the more obvious social effects of the introduction and increased use of farm machinery:

1. The use of farm machinery makes possible a shorter day in the field and fewer chores. The rapidity with which field work can now be done reduces the actual number of man hours in the field. The fewer number of work animals lessens the amount of chores.

2. The machine processes free the farmer from the deadening gross labors to which he was at one time subjected. He is no longer merely a beast of burden but a machinist.

[1] Zinthec, C. J., "Machinery in Relation to Farming," in *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture,* Vol. I, p. 209.

3. The introduction of machines, especially those which demand groups or gangs of men for operation, such as threshing and harvesting machines, tends to standardize farm processes and farm work hours.

4. In addition to the few machines and devices which have entered the house, the fewer men now demanded in the farm process, and the shorter hours in the field tend to lighten the farm woman's work and make it more possible of organization.

5. The introduction of machines into the farming enterprise has added zest and interest to farming. The farm boy no longer looks forward to a career as a "hoe-farmer." The setting up and operation of a piece of farm machinery challenges his mental agility and prowess. He will work with a piece of machinery on the basis of a creative interest which was not present under the old hand farming.

6. The fact that he is a machine operator gives the farmer a standing of dignity which he never could have attained as a "hoe-farmer." Manual labor has always meant menial labor in our general social attitudes. Machine operation is of a different type.

7. The reduction of farm processes to machine processes has, in many cases, made farm work cleaner by removing the necessity of coming in direct contact with soil elements.

8. Finally, we should not overlook the fact that the introduction of machines has considerably increased the possibility of farm accidents, for a majority of farm accidents result from work with shredders, cutters, and other machines.

The problem of supplying our farms with sufficient and efficient laborers and the problem of lessening the irksomeness of farm labor, which we have discussed in this chapter, are more closely related than might at first appear. Together with them, is also tied the problem of the remuneration for work upon the farm.

The proportion of our man power needed upon the farm is relatively decreasing. The requirements for efficiency and knowledge make the character of labor demanded by the farm enterprise far different today from what it was a half century ago. It is not only difficult to get hired men and hired girls

but they do not meet the requirements for successful farming when they can be had. The problem of farm labor, therefore, is similar to all other rural problems. Its solution is to be sought and possibly found in the general solution of all rural problems. This solution must lie in the direction of a farming enterprise which pays its entrepreneurs a better return for efforts and a system of farming and mode of farm life which rather than forbidding is inviting to future generations to live upon and love the farm.

THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF FARM LABOR IN THE LIGHT OF DESIRABLE LABOR STANDARDS

Labor Standards.—The conditions under which labor is carried on and the end toward which laborers strive are fairly well established. To say that no set of criteria or standards has been worked out for the farm is to dodge the issue. The existence of a well-recognized and quite universally practiced set of standards in other occupations is attracting laborers away from agriculture into these occupations. A great many labor standards have been accepted and adopted in the mills, factories, and other city occupations because powerfully organized labor groups have forced the issue to settlement. City industries, operating under the observation of scientific students and under the reign of law and rule of inspection, have been compelled to introduce many standards which now make up the conditions under which men and women labor. Furthermore, sufficient study has been made of the human organism, as it is subjected to certain conditions of motion, speed, and strain, to know not only the fatigue which results but the habitual reactions and even the feelings of persons subjected to these different conditions and processes. It may be a far cry to expect the agricultural situation to lend itself to these standards in the near future. It is not at all impossible to check or measure labor conditions as they exist on the farm. This we shall attempt to do.

Agriculture Is a Seasonal Occupation to a Marked Degree.—An occupation which is seasonal to any great degree is scarcely

an occupation at all for those laborers who fill the seasonal demands, for an occupation consists of the technique of steady employment at one type of task. In those districts where a dairy herd can be kept in addition to the general farming, where pure bred livestock and their care furnish winter labor, or even where mixed livestock and general farming prevail, demands for labor are fairly constant. In certain sections such as the great small-grain sections of the West and Northwest, the sugar beet sections of the West, and the cotton, rice, and tobacco sections of the South, there are seasons in which even the farm operator has practically nothing to do. The seasonal demands vary from the best-organized farms in the most favorable locations which utilize their labor supply practically 100 per cent of the year, to the poorly organized farms in the less favorable sections, which furnish scarcely an hour's labor a day during the winter months. Any section which does not demand at least 15 per cent additional labor supply during the rush season is exceptionally fortunate. To supply even this amount of seasonal work demands a great many transient laborers. To be forced to be transient is to be forced into a labor situation which is unsatisfactory to the worker.

The Length of the Day for the Farm Laborer is Irregular.—The consequence of this is that the agricultural laborer has no set habits of life. During the rush season he labors from twelve to sixteen hours a day and during the bad days of winter he may work but a few hours each day. Even during the few months of the heavy season his hours vary greatly, due to weather conditions, and crop conflicts. The city man generally labors eight hours each day. The length of his day is regular from month to month and is never interfered with by climatic conditions. He organizes his whole social and personal life on a known, stable basis.

Farm Labor Demands Versatility. It Is not Easily Learned.—The old assumption that any one could make an efficient farm laborer is false in the extreme. The idea is still prevalent, simply because farmers do have to accept whoever can be had to fill seasonal demands. It is more difficult to standardize the farm task than to standardize either its seasons or its

hours. The slack seasons can in a measure be supplied with other tasks. The hours of the day can be made standard at a sacrifice. But the farm must be large and well-organized to afford anything like specialized and standardized tasks for the farm laborer. Consequently, it takes him hours, days, and even years to know how to do all things well which must be done on the farm. Farming demands a longer apprenticeship than any manual occupation in existence. It demands this apprenticeship in addition to the best scientific agricultural education which can be had. Needless to say, no transient laborer can meet the requirements. Furthermore, if he were asked to do so efficiently, he would prefer to move to the city where the routine machine process demands less skill and less versatility to master it.

Farm Labor Is Much of it Heavy Labor.—The introduction of farm machinery has done much to lighten the tasks of the farm. Handling of crops at harvest time, handling of heavy sacks and baskets in feeding, the lifting of dirt and manure, and the strain to which one is often suddenly subjected when handling livestock, all constitute hard manual tasks. These heavy tasks and strains are not standardized and often are not subject to systematization. Some other manual occupations, such as teaming, quarrying, mining, and work in factories that deal with steel and other heavy materials demand a greater constant expenditure of energy than does agriculture. The persons operating in these occupations, however, constitute a small per cent of all who are manually employed in non-agricultural pursuits. The great majority of factory workers are machine tenders whose work is not only reduced to routine but is comparatively light.

Agriculture Is More or Less a Solitary Occupation.—This is even more true than was indicated when we discussed the isolation of the rural dweller. The farm laborer is not even in contact much of the time with the other persons who live on the same farm where he works. The average of male laborers per farm in the United States is but two. Even these two do not work together continuously as is the case of city employed

men. The farm laborer is on an isolated farm and he works a great majority of his hours in solitude.

The Farm Laborer Retains a Large Measure of Individual Initiative and Personal Responsibility.—The farm laborer, whether he be operator or hired man, is inevitably, to a large degree, his own master in his day-by-day work. The very fact that he works in isolation and solitude forces him to make his own judgments concerning the things which arise during the day's work. This is not so true in the gang work of the farm, but those who work in gangs make up a marked minority of farm laborers. Even this minority is seldom subjected to the impersonal mechanical routine of the machine process. The very fact that one is working with living things—plants and animals—obviates the possibility of reducing the farm laborer's task to the dead monotony of the factory. Working with these things, he not only must make continuous adjustments but he escapes the deadening influences of wholly impersonal occupations.

Farming Is not a Dangerous and Hazardous Occupation.—Wages and hours are by no means the only standard for which laborers and reformers have fought in their attempt to improve conditions for manual laborers. The degree to which the occupation is dangerous, hazardous, or unhealthful is as important as either of the other two. Farming is not a hazardous occupation when compared with the other major manual occupations. Statistics of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, on compensation for industrial accidents, during the year 1916, show a rate of $3 per thousand for all employed in mining and quarrying; $.93 for all employed in transportation and teaming; $.56 for all employed in manufacturing and construction, and $.35 for all employed in agricultural pursuits. The same company presents statistics for the State of Massachusetts, including the years 1914 to 1917, which show that farm labor stands nineteenth in a list of occupations showing losses incurred per $1,000 of earned payrolls. The loss was less than one-tenth that of quarrying and concrete work and about one-fifth of that of masonry and carpentry. Similar statistics for the state of New York for

the year 1914-1915 place farm labor thirty-second in a list of thirty-four. The only two industries ranking lower in incurred loss per $1,000 of earned payrolls were cotton spinning, and printing.[1] Poisonous gases and dusts, bad ventilation and lighting, bad posture, and the machine speeding-up process are all absent from the occupation of the field hand. In measuring the occupation of farming by standards which maintain in city pursuits, these things are not to be overlooked.

Labor Organizations Have no Influence on the Farm Labor Situation.—There are arguments against some things that labor organizations do but it is not to be denied that their continual and ardent fight for better wages, shorter hours, and more healthful working conditions has been one of the chief forces in establishing the standards which now maintain in most of the great industries of the city. The isolation of the farm hand and his personal relationship with his employer have been factors which have made impossible and probably unnecessary the labor union movement among farm laborers. The city laborer would consider this a distinct weakness in the farm situation.

The Farm Labor Situation Is not Subject to Industrial Upheavals.—If the farm laborer does lose by not having a powerfully organized labor group back of him to force better standards, as compensation for this loss he escapes from the damage of all lock-outs and sympathetic strikes. He drives his own deal, settles his own troubles, and practically never faces a long period of unemployment because of a shut-down or labor upheaval.

The Farm Hired Man Has no Opportunity to Develop a Neighborhood or Community Life of His Own.—If it be true that boys and girls and even older persons leave the farm because of the social opportunities of the city, how much more is it true that the isolated farm hand considers the position of a farm laborer one not to be desired. His isolation makes it impossible for him to live in a neighborhood made up of persons of his own status and interest. In the city there are

[1] Charts furnished by Prudential Life Insurance Company of New York.

laboring men's residential sections, laboring men's institutions, and laboring men's neighborhood organizations. In the country he has none of these things. He is thus not only solitary while at his work, but must live an exceedingly barren life even at leisure moments. These conditions constitute one more weak point in the farm labor situation. It is this rather long list of unsatisfactory conditions which causes the farms to suffer, when thrust in competition with city employment.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THE FARM LABOR SITUATION

General Considerations.—It is quite inconceivable that the farm labor situation should suffer as much as it does, in comparison to desirable labor standards, without dire sociological consequences. These consequences are detrimental to the laborers and the communities and the homes in which they reside. This is particularly true where there is a great number of these laborers who are transient and in those communities which use a regular hired man or cropper [1] system of farming. The hired men of a section, which is made up of big farms managed by an overseer but tilled by a hired man-cropper system, were described to the writer once as "a cross between slaves and anarchists." Such a characterization, while undoubtedly extreme, nevertheless indicates the unsatisfactory position of the laborer himself and the undesirability of having such an element in the community. The following are probably the outstanding conditions which inhere in a farming situation which demands, in so far as possible, the elimination of others than members of operator families to carry on the farm enterprise.

The Hired Man Is all too Often of Low Moral Character.—He inevitably comes in contact with the children of the home. Many times he becomes the boon companion of adolescent farm boys. It is a fact, scarcely to be disputed, that

[1] To those who are not familiar with the term "cropper" it should be explained that a cropper is a person who labors on a farm and receives his remuneration in terms of the crops he grows. Usually the landlord furnishes all work capital, work stock, and machinery, and the house in which the cropper lives. He is a hired man paid in "kind" rather than in "cash."

farm youths would be better off without these associations, and many of the habits which result directly from them. If the hired man is a single, white man he generally must live in the home of the family. His presence not only disrupts the unity of the family life but introduces into the family circle an individual who many times tends to lower the whole tenor of the home life. If the labor situation must be met by great gangs at particular seasons the hired men may live apart from the homes. Their influence in such cases is different only in the fact that it is transferred from the home to the community at large.

Any Great Demand for Mobile or Transient Laborers Is Degrading to Both Laborer and Community.—It is better for any community or neighborhood to be made up of a stable population. A community is more or less an institution. If its solidarity or harmony is disrupted periodically by the entrance and withdrawal of a great number of foreign persons, the settled habits and even the spirit of the community suffer as a consequence. The laborer who supplies the need is subjected to a condition which makes it quite impossible for him to develop efficiency, judgment, and character. He is more or less a gypsy in the labor world. He fills the demands of the wheat section in the summer and fall, the demands of the lumber camps and shipyards during the fall and winter, and many times the municipal lodging houses and jails at some period during the year. He, too, suffers because of the demand that he move on after the rush season is over.

If the Hired Man Has a Family, His Children and Wife Generally Pay the Penalty of His Social and Financial Status.—If opportunity presents, they too work for hire. His children's education suffers because of lack of money and because their school year is often broken by their being compelled to move during the school session. If he and his family are furnished a house on the farm, it is inevitably a house much beneath the standard of those in which most others of the community live. If there are any great numbers of such hired-men families in the community the educational, religious, home, and community life all suffer, as we shall later

see, because of the low standard of living which such families are compelled to maintain.

Farm Hired Men Are Seldom an Integral Part of the Institutional Life of the Community.—This statement is becoming more and more true as we get further away from the day when the hired men were boys from other farm families in the community. Today if the "hired man" is unmarried, he is likely to spend his off hours alone, asleep, or in some nearby village. If he is married, studies of his social status and social habits show that he participates very little in the church, lodge, and other social life of the community.

Any Tendency to Develop a Permanent Body of Hired Men on the Farm Indicates the Development of a Lower Class Than Has Ever Represented American Agriculture.—It is difficult to look with complacency upon the fact that we have, decade after decade, a greater number of hired men and croppers on our farms. Those sections which have developed a thoroughgoing system of hired-men farming constitute the rural slums of the nation. If these men were successfully, even though slowly, climbing the agricultural ladder toward ownership, our concern would not be so great. Quite the contrary is the case in some sections. Men who own the land may be compelled to allow their laborers a part of the crop which they till, in order to retain them throughout the year. This is generally the sole reason for paying them in crops rather than in cash. These croppers are in no sense tenants, as they are so often called. They have absolutely nothing to say about the planning or organizing of the farm enterprise. The landlord furnishes the managerial ability and often works these men with no regard whatsoever to the fact that they are croppers. The farm owner is to be excused for doing this sort of thing because he alone has the knowledge of correct farming and the future of the farm at heart. It is not an issue of personal blame. It is a system of farming, however, which does not bid fair to improve social conditions in those rural communities where it is prevalent. Its serious significance is often overlooked because we still think of the farm hired man in terms of the individual whose family may be farm

operators in the community, who lives in our farm homes as a member of some family circle, and who is not destined long to remain a hired man, because he will soon climb the agricultural ladder toward ownership. A very small percentage of them are any longer this type of individual and a very small per cent will probably ever be anything other than hired men. If we must have anything like a large hired-man class to maintain American agriculture, if the farm owner finds it necessary to assume all initiative in the conduct of the farm enterprise, and if the members who fail to move on up the agricultural ladder continue to increase, it will be folly to close our eyes to the fact that we are developing a class of tillers of the soil who must continue to live lives most unsatisfactory to themselves and most damaging to the future of rural civilization in America.

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CHAPTER V

LAND AND SOCIETY

THE RELATION OF LAND TO CIVILIZATION

Why All Nations Have Land Problems.—The natural resources of the world are the raw materials out of which men have built civilization. Where there are no natural resources, human communities have not developed. As time has gone on inventions and scientific discoveries have made available for human uses many elements in nature not previously known as natural resources. As the complexity and magnitude of human society have developed, one set of natural resources has taken the stage for the first time and for a long or a short time has played the star rôle in the drama of society. Through all this time, land has played a regular part. At one stage of society's evolution the land furnished the only products which men used and furnished them in the direct forms in which they were consumed—roots, berries and the like. Later the land furnished the basis for cultivated plants and food for domesticated animals. Next it yielded minerals, coal, iron, and other materials for making tools, implements, and for building factories and railroads. Now it furnishes all the raw products of the world, except those which come directly from the atmosphere or the sea. All the complex industrial processes of society depend upon land: the food, clothing, and shelter supplies of all peoples come from it; and it is the ground upon which the people themselves live and move. Because of its abiding significance to life, land has furnished the bases for some of the greatest conflicts between the nations of the world and between classes of people within the nations of the world.

Without minimizing the great rôles which other occupations and professions play in modern life, it is safe to say

that agriculture is the most fundamental occupation of all civilization. Land is the basis of all agriculture. Von Moltke said, "The German Empire will collapse without the firing of a shot when German agriculture fails." The same may be said of the United States, and, indeed, of any nation. Furthermore, agriculture will fail when the land fails. While it may seem that a discussion of land and land problems belongs to the domain of some other science than sociology, it is certainly true that no discussion of social structure or social problems is complete without a discussion of land. This is particularly true of rural sociology.

Land is of particular significance to agriculture because it is the one natural resource with which this occupation is concerned. Agriculture is different from all other occupations because of the great amount of land space it needs. It cannot build skyscrapers or dig deep basements, as other industries do. It must farm the surface of the earth. Furthermore, it cannot move the raw materials of agriculture to advantageous places. It must go where the land is and very largely build upon what the land offers. Gradations of fertility have been laid down in the crust of the earth through countless geological ages. Humidity, sunshine, and seasons are dictated by the eternal cycles of the earth and the relatively fixed cosmic forces. What the farmer accomplishes, he must accomplish largely on these fixed bases, and within these fixed limits. And what the farmer does with and out of these possibilities is of tremendous significance to the nation and to civilization.

The economist, Malthus, a century ago, became tremendously concerned over what he conceived to be the incapacity of land continuously to furnish the raw materials for human existence and well being. Up to the present time, discoveries of new lands and the inventive genius of man, by discovering new methods of converting nature's gifts into usable consumption goods, have outstripped the growth of population and thereby forestalled the calamity which Malthus predicted. These same processes, plus the control of human migrations and especially the control of the human

birth rate, bid fair to make the land suffice for all future time. The social problems involved in the land situation are not, therefore, the problems of continuous human existence. They are the problems involved in the utilization, organization, settlement, and control of lands. Upon the bases of the issues involved in these problems depends, more than any other one thing, the future organization of our national social structure.

Land and Community Social Structure.—In the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, whole national social structures have been built upon the basis of their land systems, particularly upon the basis of their ownership and control of lands. European nations, since the World War, have attacked the problem of reconstructing their national social organizations upon the basis of the redistribution of their control of lands. Mexico has for a generation been trying to establish a stable national existence by working out a system of land control which will satisfy her people and develop an agricultural middle class.[1] The Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans all found it necessary to have laws and customs controlling the ownership and use of land. The present chaos of Russia finds its derivation in a land system which created the Russian nobleman aristocracy. The Italian *Latafundia,* the Germany *Junker,* the English Land Baron or Lord, the problems connected with the great South American *Hacienda* are all national problems that grew out of tendencies on the part of certain classes to monopolize the ownership and control of agricultural lands. One might, with a considerable degree of success, attempt to write the history of civilization on the basis of the control and utilization of lands.

American civilization has by no means escaped the tendency of land, its control, and uses, to dictate, to a great extent, our national social structure and life. A very definite and natural attempt was made by the European nations, whose people settled the American colonies, to perpetuate the feudal system of land control in this country. It broke down because there were great areas of available fertile land, because

[1] McBride, G. Mc., *The Land Systems of Mexico, American Geological Society, Research Series No. 12,* New York, 1913.

the types of people who braved the dangers of populating a new continent were ill-disposed to be subjected to such control, and because the distance from the mother countries and their central governments made it impossible for them to collect "quit rents" and compete with the growth of community government in organizing and administering the affairs of the colonists.

Conscious attempts at dictating the use and control of lands, however, do not constitute the index to the peculiar influence of land in our American social structure. If the sparsely settled areas of Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico, or Arizona are compared with the closely settled agricultural areas of New England or even with the farming communities of the Middle West, the unconscious influence of types of land on rural social structure will be seen. The physical type of the land has largely dictated the limits of its uses, and its uses have dictated the amount of population that inhabits a given land area. The density of the population, in turn, dictates, to a very considerable degree, the type of community life. The industrialization of a nation depends upon the presence or absence of its natural resources and the degree of its industrialization depends upon the growth of urban centers. Urban centers, in turn, introduce economic and social elements into the social complex which modify the pure physical influences of land uses. Every agricultural community in America is influenced by the physical base of land, on the one hand, and its market contacts on the other.

The farm products which a farming community produces—whether wheat, cotton, dairy products, fruit, or vegetables—enter into its unconsciously built community structure. The type of land, its utilization, and control are always a part of the settlement and life of its people.

The size of the farms in a rural community constitutes largely the basis of the density of its population and thus, to a considerable degree, prejudices its possibilities to construct one or another type of community life. In a dry-farming or range area, population is so scarce as to make it almost impossible to establish schools and churches. In the agricultural

areas that are adjacent to great urban centers, the farms are small enough and the populations dense enough to make it possible for the people who live in these areas to approach the urban type of social life. In the dry-farming areas of Colorado the average size of farms is 400 acres. In New Mexico it is 800 acres. In the Connecticut River Valley the size of farms is only twenty acres and the population exceeds 200 persons to the square mile. Of course, the size of the farm does not always indicate the density of population, for the size of the farm as reported in the United States Census is only a matter of the unit of farm incorporation. On one farm there may be a number of hired men and their families. On the whole, however, the size of the farm varies inversely with the density of the rural population.

The size of farms in the different geographic sections of the nation and their tendencies to increase or decrease are given in the following table:

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE ACREAGE IN FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES PER GEOGRAPHIC AREA

Division	1920	1910	1890	1870	1850
United States	148.2	138.0	137.0	153	203
New England	108.5	104.4	95	104	113
Middle Atlantic	95.4	92.2			
East North Central	108.5	105.0	133	124	143
West North Central	234.3	209.6			
South Atlantic	84.4	93.3	134	241	376
East South Central	75.0	78.2	144	194	291
West South Central	174.1	179.3			
Mountain	480.7	324.5	324	336	695
Pacific	239.8	270.3			

From this table we see fairly well the amount of population which resides in the farming communities of the various sections of the nation. The facts portrayed in the table largely result from the physical nature and location of the land out of which these farms are formed. They show the influence of the type of land and its resources; show the influence of urban centers; indicate the tendencies in the reorganization of farm

units in the different areas; and indicate what processes are working to change the social structure of the rural communities located in these various sections. Throughout the whole South, for instance, there has been going on the process of breaking up the old plantations into smaller units. Dozens of ranches in Texas and New Mexico, which were at one time large-unit farms, have come under cultivation and have been reduced to smaller units. Furthermore, the South, particularly the Southeast, in recent years, has recognized its favorable position for vegetable and fruit growing and so has developed, in certain sections, hundreds of small holdings which operate under intensive types of agriculture. In the Mountain States, on the other hand, except in irrigated sections, the tendency has been to expand production by means of including greater and greater extent of acreage. Because small grain crops are most suited to these regions, farming, in order to be profitable and to use machinery to advantage, must be extensive. Furthermore, there have been added a number of newly incorporated farms in the dry-farming sections. These farms, in nearly all cases, are larger than the previous average and so automatically increase the average size of farm units. New England and the Middle States stand between these two processes of extension and restriction of farm size. New England farms were already small in 1850. Since that time, there have been forces operating both to increase and to decrease the size. The abandonment of farms tends to increase the size, because the abandonment has most often been of the extensive farms. On the other hand, the presence of great and growing cities offers a good market for products of intensive farming, and this has operated to decrease slowly the average size of the New England farms. In the great Central States the decrease has been steady though these two forces are at work. The type of farming is still, and probably will for a long time to come continue to be, extensive. The tendency to better and more cultivation, and the great amount of capital it takes to own a farm in these states have all tended to reduce the acreage per farm. The force operating in the other direction, peculiarly enough, is also the im-

mense amount of capital one must have to own a farm. This fact, plus the introduction of power-field machinery, has a tendency to force the land into larger consolidated holdings.

As we look to the future and attempt to be guided in our conclusion by the history of the past and an appreciation of some well-known facts of the present, we seem justified in the belief that the size of our farms will continue to grow smaller though, as in the past, they may fluctuate from decade to decade. This is true: (1) because the increase in our urban and national population will force us to more and more intensive farming; (2) because the increase in farm population will have a tendency to split up large holdings; (3) because it is getting more and more difficult to obtain farm help, and therefore an extension of farm acreage per farm operator will have to depend altogether upon the increased use of farm machinery; (4) and, finally, farm management and rural social surveys show quite conclusively that the family-sized farm is our best producing unit, particularly when measured in terms of the farm family standard of living. None of these factors are conclusive, but, coupled with the general tendency which has been going on throughout the country for the last seventy years, and with the fact that the same process has been the rule in other countries, and that there is a relative decrease in small-grain farming and an increase in corn and livestock, dairy, fruit, and vegetable farming, warrant the conclusion that our holdings will grow smaller in the future. This will make a denser population in rural communities and thus enliven all social processes and create more complex community structures with their resulting community social problems.

The Peculiar Influence of Land in the United States.—From the beginning of our national life up almost to the immediate present, we have had land opportunities never before known in modern civilization. This fact has created in the United States a type of civilization that has not existed before in the world's history and will probably not be duplicated again unless in South America and Canada. Lands were practically free, some of them immensely fertile, and sufficiently plenti-

ful that individual ownership was almost universally possible. The results were that individual proprietorship in lands became widespread for the first time in history; a system of individual and isolated farm residence was established for the first time in the history of the world; and the appreciation of the values of land in comparison to labor and industrial capital was almost completely destroyed. The inherent worth of the individual was transferred to his capacity to control land. Some of the colonies made land ownership the test of suffrage, and, for a considerable period after this practice broke down, continued to make it a requisite to eligibility for office holding. The reaction to the attempt to establish the feudal system of land tenure swung so far toward the opposite pole that the attitudes of some of our American forefathers would today be called bolshevistic. The emphasis on liberty came to transcend far that placed on either equality or fraternity. America's contribution to the world by way of a new concept of democracy and her attitude in world affairs at the present time are in no small way results of 200 years of land opportunities.

The influences of free, virgin lands, awaiting and inviting settlement, went beyond its effect on our individual, social, and political attitudes. It wove itself into our people's economic ideas, attitudes, and convictions which they still retain. As population increased and the approach to the exhaustion of our free lands became apparent, economic speculation in lands became rife. Lands, homesteaded in Western Iowa in the sixties and early seventies, were selling for $25 an acre within a decade and for as high as $100 an acre at the beginning of the present century. During the ten years from 1850 to 1860, the population of the eight mid-western states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, increased over 3,350,000 or more than 167 per cent. The increase in Iowa was 251 per cent, and that of Minnesota 2,730 per cent. Nearly 43,000,000 acres of land were taken up in the region during that decade. It was calculated by an Iowa City editor during one three-month period

in 1854 that over 50,000 people flowed into Iowa.[1] Some Iowa and Illinois lands sold for $400 and $500 an acre during the recent World War. Men had completely lost their sense of relative values or had built such false theories of values that they declared that "these were not inflated values; that Iowa and Illinois land was selling for the first time at its real value." So sure have men been of the persistent and continuous future rise in land values that they have bought land on speculative bases or on values which the economic production of these lands could not in the normal course of events reach for a half generation. This fact has put farm lands, for the last forty years, further and further out of the reach of those who had to earn their payments upon farms out of their present economic productive capacity. The results have been an increasing number of families on the land who do not and cannot own it, and a sacrifice of the rural family standard of living, because the head of the family is trying to pay for an overcapitalized farm or because the landlord is collecting rents which will pay him decent interest rates on his capital invested in land that is not worth what he paid for it and thought it was worth.

The movement westward into fertile land areas became a psychological movement, which continued long after it was profitable to take up unsettled lands. Upon the basis of the land opportunities of the last half of the nineteenth century, population continued to flow into these regions for the first fifteen years of the present century. People seeking opportunities which had been available in Iowa and Illinois in one generation, in the next generation pushed beyond the extensive margin of profitable production into semi-arid or arid lands. Even the federal government by irrigation development participated in this uneconomical movement. The results of this continued western movement were to increase land speculation, establish homes on lands that could not support them, and to leave undeveloped areas farther east which offered better opportunities than the marginal or sub-

[1] Turner, F. J., *The Rise of the New West, The American Nation,* Vol. XIV, pp. 74-83.

marginal lands of the west could afford. All these things developed out of the unique land situation which prevailed in the United States for 150 to 200 years. We are confronted with the economic and social adjustments which are incident to the reorganization of our social structure and social life on the basis of land resources which are within the newly populated areas of the nation. Just what some of these possible adjustments may be will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.

THE ADVENT OF OUR LAND PROBLEMS

The Disposal of Free Lands.—The land problems in the United States are not different in their fundamental nature from land problems of all time, though they are just beginning to present themselves as clearly defined national problems.

It was scarcely to be expected that various land problems would arise as long as the United States was in a pioneer stage of agriculture. When we no longer had free lands, however, and were compelled to face the task of building our future agricultural progress upon the areas already largely under cultivation, we came to realize the existence of our land problems and the need of state and national land policies. Previous to that period in our national life, farming had been looked upon as a purely individual enterprise. This individual enterprise was so rich in return and so fraught with future possibilities that it automatically took care of our national welfare. The passing of our extensive frontiers has brought us face to face with the necessity of conserving and utilizing our raw materials and national income in such a way as most efficiently to care for an ever-increasing population. The occupation of farming is no longer merely the business of a few isolated men, it is the business of a nation.

The problem is not merely that a few thousand men who want to avail themselves of farms under the homestead acts cannot do it, or at least no longer find it profitable. It is that the whole nation is becoming conscious of the fact that the

national per capita production of agriculture is steadily diminishing and that this means a steady advance in the cost of living, particularly in the cost of food, clothing, and shelter, which depend directly upon agricultural lands. Furthermore, so far as the average individual can see, there is to be no end to this process.

The facts that we did have such a large portion of the population on the land, that we did have a seemingly unlimited supply of free lands, and that about 50 per cent of our lands were still unimproved, led to the cry of "back to the farm" just as soon as it was seen that these conditions no longer prevailed. This was a cry, however, for men to return to, or to enter, an occupation, the fundamental base of which no longer furnished attractive economic opportunity. Gradually we began to realize that agriculture, which formerly had such a tremendous grip upon the American pioneer, was no longer a profession of great pride or prosperity. In no country of the world had the owners and operators of land stood in a position of greater prestige than they did in the first century of our national life. Industrial occupations had not been successful in diverting even wage workers from the farm as they had been in England from the very beginning of the industrial revolution. But by 1900, 35 per cent of farm entrepreneurs were renters and the prospects of ownership were becoming less each year. The land problem had been thought of, up to this time, only in terms of homesteads, estates, inheritances, and purchases, as mere individual farm concerns. It now came to be looked upon as a problem of national economy and social welfare.

The land problem, like other economic and social problems, became a conscious problem only when it presented adjustments difficult to make. We were no more dependent in 1900 than we were in 1800 upon land as the base for the production of our primary wealth. We had had such a vast public domain that we had not believed its limits could be so quickly reached. Andrew Jackson said, in 1832, that our free lands would suffice for our national expansion for 700 years.

There has not been an era in American history more interesting and more tragic than that of the movement of our pioneers westward across the continent. The original Colonies, at the dissolution of their colonial government, turned over to the federal government all lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. At the time of the census of 1790, practically the whole rural population of the United States lay east of this mountain range. By 1820, the frontier had moved almost as far west as the Mississippi River, particularly in the northern states. By 1850 it included Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and East Texas. By 1880, the middle portion of the frontier boundary had gone as far west as Denver, and many sections, even on the Pacific coast, had been settled. By 1900, we became conscious of the fact that its limits were fast being reached.

If the United States government had set out consciously and with skilful planning to bring upon itself, as quickly as possible, serious land problems, it could not have done so more aptly and more quickly than by the disposal of its public domain in such a reckless, short-visioned way. Over 75 per cent of the total land area of the nation was at one time in the hands of the federal government. It has disposed of 53.3 per cent of these lands by sales to private individuals, grants to railroads and other corporations, grants to various states, homesteads, and Indian allotments. It still retains 22.5 per cent of the original public domain, 10.8 per cent of which is in national forests, national parks, reservations, and unallotted Indian lands, and 11.7 per cent of which is unreserved and unappropriated. Of the unreserved and unappropriated lands 35.6 per cent are classified as barren, totally unfit for either range or farming land.

We have, in a little over 200 years, practically exhausted our free lands. Between 1800 and 1918 the federal government turned over to individuals, corporations, and states considerably over one billion acres of farm, range, and forest lands. At no time and in no federal act was there shown an appreciation of our inevitable economic land problems. Not until we had disposed of 348,000,000 acres, or about 18 per

TABLE 3.—DISPOSITION OF LAND ONCE IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN (JUNE 30, 1918)[3]

Disposition of Land	Million Acres	Per Cent
Total area of the United States	1,903.3	100
Territory at no time part of public domain	461.1	24.2
Territory at some time part of the public domain	1,442.2	75.8
Area disposed of	1,015.0	53.3
State grants	177.1	9.3
Land patented under railroad and wagon road grants	126.9	6.7
Homestead, timber culture, Indian allotments, etc.	292.4	15.9
Otherwise disposed of	418.6	22.0
Area remaining in United States ownership	427.2	22.5
National Forests, parks, reservations and Indian lands	204.4	10.8
Unreserved and unappropriated	222.4	11.7
Barren	80.3	35.6
Usable range and farm lands	142.1	64.4

cent of the public domain, did we make any move even to establish homes upon the land. Previous to the Homestead Act of 1862 the dominant idea in disposing of public lands was to gain revenue for the federal government. Even the homestead acts did not obviate speculation in land after the farms were once "proved" or became the private property of those who "took out the claims." The result was that millions of acres of land, at one time virgin soil, owned by the government, were robbed of their fertility, sold to private individuals, and are now being farmed by men who do not own them, many of them having little prospect of ever becoming land owners. The government not only squandered its public domain in less than one-seventh of the time Jackson had predicted, but had, by its failure to develop small land-owning husbandmen upon the soil, developed for itself the problems of land reclamation and land tenancy.

Some appreciation of what was taking place did find expression from time to time in farmer and labor groups. Senator Benton of Missouri introduced a "Land Graduation Bill," in 1924. This bill recognized the propriety of granting free

[3] MACKAYE, B., *Employment and Natural Resources*, United States Department of Labor, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919.

lands to actual settlers.[1] The National Reformers' Party, organized in 1844, was the first concerted movement for homestead legislation. The three cardinal principles of this party's land reforms were: (1) land limitation, (2) inalienability of land, (3) reservation of land for actual settlers only. Garrison, in 1847, expressed the conviction that the redemption of land was desirable to prevent monopoly. Various labor groups in their conventions from 1845 to 1856 made the land question a leading subject for discussion. The Free Soil Party accepted the disposal of lands as an issue in 1852 and the Republican Party discussed it in its Convention in 1856. Between 1852 and 1862 numerous bills were introduced in Congress and finally, in 1862, President Lincoln signed the first Homestead Act. This Act, and all acts since, have failed to deal with the question in the fundamental way advocated by the National Reformers' Party and have failed as yet to prevent the growth of land monopoly, the growth of an extensive tenant class, and the steady exhaustion of soil fertility.[2]

One of the greatest defects of an uncontrolled exploitation of our lands has been the rapid depletion of our timber supply. Originally the United States had a timber supply of 5,200,000,000,000 board feet. Now it has a supply of considerably less than one half that amount. Our original timber covered 822,000,000 acres of virgin forest. Now we have but 137,000,000 of virgin forest. Wood consumption in the United States is 26,000,000,000 cubic feet per year and only 6,000,000,000 cubic feet is being replaced annually by reforestation. We have 81,000,000 acres of completely devastated forest lands. If all our idle cut-over lands were reforested today our timber supply would be exhausted at the present rate of consumption before the young trees had grown to merchantable size.[3] The lumber industry has shifted from the Northeastern States to the Lake States and then to the Pacific States and more recently to the Southern States. The exploitation of each

[1] Eighteenth Congress, first session, Vol I, p. 583.

[2] "Disposition of Public Land of the United States," Magnusson, L., *Bulletin of Department of Labor,* Washington Printing Office, 1919.

[3] Ely and Moorehouse, *Elements of Land Economics,* p. 127, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924.

timber area has left behind it a trail of deforested land very little of which has been replaced. In many areas valuable timber was cut and burned to make way for other crop production. Trees were looked upon as obstacles rather than crops and were thus destroyed in the quickest and easiest fashion possible.[1]

Our Present Land Situation.—In 1920, there were 6,448,343 farms in the United States, including 955,883,115 acres, and 22 per cent of this land was classified as unimproved. The total land area of the United States is 1,903,215,360 acres. This means that the area incorporated in farms is only 50.2 per cent of the total land area. Only about 503,000,000 acres or 52.6 per cent, of land in farms is under cultivation. That is, only 26.4 per cent of our total area is classified as improved farm land. Only about 365,000,000 acres, or 18.6 per cent, of the total is in harvested crops. Authorities of the United States Department of Agriculture estimate that it is possible to increase the area of improved land about 300,000,000 acres, or 60 per cent, by irrigation, drainage, clearing and dry-farming methods, and that there are about 355,000,000 additional acres which have sufficient humidity to make crop production possible, but because of being too hilly or sterile this acreage can be used profitably only for timber culture. This means that we have over 650,000,000 acres of potential agricultural land, or an amount exceeding by 150,000,000 acres all present improved farm lands. This area, plus that already in use, sets the stage for our future development, organization, and settlement of agricultural communities. The present agricultural depression is leading most students of land economics to the conclusion that any encouragement of the development of these lands for crop production would be unwise at this time. But the continued encroachment of population upon them is going to develop them in one way or another. The question which constitutes the social problems in relation to them is what sort of communities are going to develop in these areas

[1] Greely, W. B., *Timber Depletion and Its Answer, United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 112,* Washington, D. C.

and what is going to be the effect of their development upon the national social life.

In 1890, there were 140,970,547 acres, lying west of the west state line of Iowa, not included in farms which today are included in farms. This does not include the expansion in Texas, which it is impossible to calculate because farms were differently classified in that state in the two census reports. Between 1890 and 1920, the rural population in the states lying west of this line increased 11,164,008 or over 129 per cent. How rapidly these vacant lands have been occupied is seen in the following table:

TABLE 4.—INCREASE IN POPULATION IN STATES WHICH STILL HAD FREE LAND IN 1890

State	1920	1890
Oregon	334,162	88,243
California	3,426,861	1,213,398
Colorado	939,629	413,249
Idaho	431,866	88,548
Kansas	1,769,257	1,428,108
Montana	548,887	142,924
Nebraska	1,296,372	1,062,696
Nevada	77,407	47,355
New Mexico	360,360	160,282
North Dakota	646,872	190,983
Oklahoma	2,028,283	255,657
Oregon	738,389	317,704
South Dakota	636,547	348,600
Texas	4,663,228	2,235,527
Utah	449,396	210,779
Washington	1,356,621	357,232
Wyoming	194,402	62,555
Total	19,890,518	8,626,510

Increase 1920 over 1890, 11,164,008.

Per cent increase, 129.

The population of the whole United States increased 39.0 per cent in the period between 1900 and 1920, while our land in farms increased only 13.9 per cent. The problem of getting productive lands for our increasing population is becom-

ing more and more difficult and there is no doubt that vacant lands will continue to be taken up by land seekers.

It is calculated that we have already exhausted certain chemical elements of the soil which were millions of years in forming, some of which can never be replaced.[1] Verily we have reached a stage in our national life when it is time to call a halt on this type of farming. We need to bring within the pale of cultivation these millions of acres not yet available because of being too dry, too wet, too stony, too acid, or too alkaline. We need to call a halt on the squandering of our public domain; to increase our per capita production, and to educate our farmers to conduct production in such a way as to stop depleting our soil, and, if possible, to improve the soil from year to year.

The nation has not yet recognized certain bad social conditions as problems demanding a conservation policy. There are, however, systems of taxation which make it more valuable to hold lands out of cultivation than to farm them. There are many acres not under cultivation at present because their owners are holding them for speculation. There are some ancient homestead laws which are working as great a detriment to up-to-date farming and community building as any bad physical condition. In the near future these problems, too, will be attacked, for when the nation once sees them as fundamental to our future prosperity it will assume the task of finding a way to bring these uncultivated areas under cultivation.

THE NEED FOR NATIONAL AND STATE LAND POLICIES

The Objects of a National Land Policy.—We have reached a development of national consciousness and national conscience when we have begun to see that the disposition of our national resources is vital to the general national welfare. It is only very recently that we have taken any steps to control

[1] Van Hise, "Preservation of Phosphates and Conservation of the Soil," *Annals*, Vol 33, pp. 699 *et seq.*

the exploitation of the land and even then only when other national resources, such as oils, and minerals, are involved. Soil is our greatest natural resource, but nothing has yet been done by way of a national program to force its conservation. Recently the federal government has classified the public domain according to fitness for different uses. This was done only after we had disposed of a vast majority of the federal land and does not now apply to privately owned lands acquired prior to this act. The provisions of a wise national land policy would look to an increase of at least fifty million in our national population within the next two generations; would classify all lands of the nation; would provide for giving information and assistance in proper methods of conservation and reclamation; and would offer information and possibly assistance in establishing good community life in the areas yet to be settled.

The failure of the federal government to dispose of the public domain on the basis of lands classified according to their potential uses and values has led to the turning over to individuals practically all the coal, iron, and other mineral and oil deposits of the nation. It has by a broadcast homestead law, and later by a miscalculated reclamation program led families to settle on lands which, for the present at least, should not be under cultivation. Without classification this was bound to happen. To the land hungry, "land is land," especially with the history of speculative gains made out of the really fertile farming land of the Middle West still in their minds. But there are physical, economic, and social limitations to land. The physical limitations are set by the climate, humidity, topography, and fertility of the soil. The economic limitations are set by these physical characteristics, plus the distance to or difficulties of reaching the market with the type and kind of product which the land can be made to produce. The social limitations are the healthfulness of the climate and the capacity of the land to support enough people to make community life possible.[1] All of these factors about

[1] Ely and Moorehouse, *Elements of Land Economics*, pp. 26-31 and 49-55, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924.

the land, which are yet to be settled, should be known. No agency is in a position to discover the information and distribute it except the federal government.

Practically all areas not settled demand reclamation of some character. The federal government has already embarked upon the enterprise and has thus far spent millions of dollars to bring lands into cultivation. Some of the reclamation work has not taken into consideration all the limitations which have just been mentioned. Undoubtedly this mistake will ultimately have to be paid for in the loss of some of the money spent.

A reclamation project is always a large-scale irrigation or drainage project and cannot be embarked upon by other than a big corporation, the federal government, or a state government. The individual settler cannot undertake it because of lack of capital and because the physical facilities for both drainage and irrigation must cover an area large enough to include many individual farms. The federal government can best undertake the work, and in doing so it should work with a long-time program of development in mind, which program would obviate many of the mistakes made in the settlement of our "free lands."

The reclamation service stated at the beginning of its program of development, twenty years ago, that its primary object was to establish homes upon the land. The homes it established, sometimes upon submarginal land, could scarcely be said to be an index to social statesmanship. It needs to go further and to come as near as possible to guaranteeing an adequate community life to those who settle upon the land. It should make its policy or approved blueprint for the sale, development, and settlement of lands so well known that no type of real estate promotion could lead settlers to embark upon farming projects which could not succeed because of lack of knowledge concerning the physical or economic facts. It should go much further and attempt to see that the types of communities that develop in these areas do not become rural slums but completed rural communities. The feasibility

of the last suggestion has been demonstrated by a number of nations of the world, by the state of California, and by a few private colonizers.

The Object of State Policies.—Many elements in a land policy can be better administered by the several states than by the federal government. The state governments are closer to the lands and in many ways much more immediately interested in their development. Undeveloped areas lie idle, yielding the state no tax revenues, and often handicapping not only the development of good community life in the area where they are but often handicapping the economic and social life of adjoining or more remote areas. The various states of the union which have unsettled land should cooperate with the national government in the prices of land classification and should probably go even beyond the national government in assisting settlers to economic success. Certainly they should go further in helping to establish rural communities. They are naturally interested in emphasizing the comparative advantages of their own land. They should, however, see that untruths are not circulated about the prospects of their undeveloped areas, for such practices invariably react unfavorably upon the long-time possibilities of the development which they seek to promote. The lands within most of our states still hold great possibilities for wealth and community development. The state government is the right agency to promote both of these things.

Example of State and National Policies.—The United States and the various states have been slow in developing land policies. California, however, has taken an advanced step, carrying out even the project of close community settlement.

After an extended study by a legislative commission in California, the Legislature, in 1917, enacted a law providing for direct land settlement by the state. California was the first and is the only state of the union thus far to attempt land settlement by the state itself. The plan was copied from Australia, where it had proved most successful, as it had

also in some South American states and Canada. California has never contemplated that all of her vacant lands would be settled by state aid. Her purpose was to demonstrate the methods and principles essential to success in land settlement. Specifically, the California law was enacted, *first,* to avoid the causes of financial failure of reclamation and enterprise due in large measure to delay in settlement and use of the land, most of which must be reclaimed by irrigation; *second,* to avoid the failure of settlement through delay in getting settlers and delay in getting the land into use, due to lack of capital, and to short-term credits that swamped them before they could get their land under production; *third,* to avoid placing men on the land who were not likely to succeed because of lack of capital, experience, or adaptability to farming. To insure success, it was determined that, before land was purchased by the state for settlement, all facts affecting health and production should be carefully studied; that the amount of land should be sufficient to create a distinct community life in each settlement undertaken; that the title to the land sold be retained by the state for ten years; that the tenure of the settler should prevent speculation and yet safeguard ownership; that every settler should have capital enough to protect the state against loss; that the price paid for the land by the settler should be fixed by what it will produce; that the land should be so prepared as to permit the settler to derive an income as quickly as possible; that provision should be made by the state for meeting all overhead expenses through the purchases made; that settlers must be provided with suitable credit, and must be given advice, assistance, and instruction in their farming operations, including marketing, and in cooperation with their community operations.

The community at Durham, California, has been a conspicuous success. The settlement at Delhi, California, started during the World War, has been attempting to make progress during the period of the agricultural depression and on land where the reclamation costs and market facilities were un-

favorable as compared to Durham. Both of these settlements have been carried out on lands which required a much greater capital outlay than would be necessary in many other reclamation areas. The Durham settlement has not only demonstrated a method of reclaiming land but has been an outstanding success in assisting men to the ownership of farms and in establishing a rural community with a number of cooperative enterprises among the settlers, with all the standard social institutions ready-made for the use of the settlers and a twenty-two acre park and playground provided and located in the heart of the colony.

California followed the example of Australia in her method of land development and settlement. Australia had followed the example of Italy and Denmark.[1] In each of these countries, and particularly in Australia, this scheme of reclamation and settlement has been elaborately used.

A number of the European governments, some of the Provinces of Canada, and some of the states of the United States established plans for assisting returning soldiers into land ownership at the close of the World War. Franklin K. Lane, former Secretary of Interior of the United States, very seriously promoted such a plan for federal aid to the returning American soldier. Although a number of bills were presented in congress, none of them made ample provision for guaranteeing either economic success or inviting community life. Canada, however, has settled something more than 27,000 returned soldiers upon farms.[2]

Practically all the states of the United States that lie within the irrigation area have enacted laws providing assistance in one way or another for the development of their lands. Utah took the first step in 1865. Most of the present state laws provide for investigation of all matters relating to the water supply, the soil in relation to its demand for water, the reasonable market value of the land, and the character and nature of the bonds to be issued by the irrigation district. In

[1] MEAD, E., *Helping Men Own Farms,* Chap. I, and VIII to XII.

[2] GILLETTE, J. M., *Rural Sociology,* p. 213, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

Oregon, the state goes so far as to certify the bonds as legal investments for trust funds, and also pays the interests on the bonds from one to five years. Alberta, Canada, guarantees both principal and interest of the irrigation district bonds.[1]

Between 1910 and 1920 in the Great Lake states of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin nearly 3,500,000 acres were added to land in farms and about 2,500,000 acres added in crops, by clearing, draining, and settlement. Most of this land had been previously held by timber companies who had stripped it of its timber and held it as practically dead assets on their hands. In two of these states, Wisconsin and Minnesota, State Bureaus of Immigration and Settlement now guide and supervise these projects and in Michigan the state has awakened and has promoted one of the outstanding land classification programs of the nation.

National policies of reforestation and timber culture are prevalent in Europe. The forests in France, Germany, and Switzerland are the products of planned and controlled forest policies. In a number of these countries, farm forestry is practiced as a part of the cropping system. The forest areas are so interwoven with other farming areas that the "lumber jack" is not a part of the process, nor are saw mills and logging communities mere transients in the social life.

Other examples of state or national land policies which might be cited are the New Zealand graduated land tax; the Australian perpetual lease; the inheritance laws of England, Ireland, and France; and the national purchase and sale policies of Ireland and Denmark. It is not our purpose, however, to attempt a detailed discussion of land economics but only to give a sufficiently varied set of examples of state and national policies to show that methods and policies are being devised which aim to bring the problems related to land conservation, utilization, ownership, and settlement within the pale of public welfare.

[1] TEELE, R. P., *Manuscript of a study of Reclamation by the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1923-1924, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

LAND PROBLEMS AND RURAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Land Ownership.—It may seem to be a far cry from the technical problems of land classification, irrigation, and drainage to problems in rural sociology. But there is no problem more important to the farmer than his economic success and the social life which he can have only if he is successful. He is, therefore, concerned about the possibilities and potentialities of the land which he farms. He is furthermore concerned about the possibilities of land ownership. Any steps, therefore, that the national or state governments can take which will make it possible for the farmer to become a land proprietor, are of immense concern to him and of no little concern to the welfare of the nation and the state. The land is looked upon as a savings bank by the average farmer. He is a more stable and self-respecting citizen if he is the owner of a farm than if he is a landless and shifting tenant. Ex-Governor Allen of Kansas declared that "In two years," during the World War, "socialism, driven by the cleverest German propaganda, rose and broke three times against the land titles of France," [1] meaning that peasant ownership in France gave to her armies and her national population a stability and patriotism that would almost suffer national death rather than sacrifice their land proprietorship and love for homes.

The Conflict of Land Values and the Rural Standard of Living.—The actual increase in wealth created by the enterprise of agriculture finds its depository in one of three places: in increased land values, in cities built out of agriculture, or in the standard of living of rural people. The era of land speculation, through which we, as a nation, have nearly passed, but yet to considerable extent are still in, has led to an almost universal inflation of land values. If the ownership of farm lands is in the hands of those who till the soil, there is little or no competition between the farm standard of living and the values of farm lands. If, however, the lands are owned by

[1] ALLEN, H. S., *Kansas Problems*, pp. 16-17, Topeka, Kansas, 1920. Quoted from ELY and MOREHOUSE, Elements of Land Economics, p. 22.

others than those who till them and live on them, there is a conflict between those who produce the crops and those who collect the rents, which is as real as the conflict between labor and capital for the dividends of industry. Those who till the soil must measure the profitableness of agriculture in terms of the living it yields them, while those who own the land must measure it by the interest they can collect on their investments in land by way of rent. Therefore, even so technical an economic problem as land value and land capitalization is a social problem of immense importance to the people who till the soil. It is, furthermore, a significant national problem of economic and social justice so deeply woven into our complex economic and social structure that the nation can rise or fall on what is ultimately done about it.

Opportunities for Building Rural Communities on Vacant Lands.—Rural communities in America are different from rural communities in any section of the world that was settled prior to our colonial period. The isolated farmstead of America was a direct result of our favorable land situation. Families were pulled out of close community life by the lure of individual farm ownership. Now we no longer have our favorable land situation, and we have begun to work at the task of community improvement and community planning in rural districts. It would seem that the correct and statesmanlike thing to do would be to plan rural communities in reclamation areas. This does not mean that it would be wise to attempt to force such development in a period when men are not seeking to enter the occupation of farming. It does mean that wherever and whenever reclamation areas are settled they should be settled by means of communities.

The reason that millions of acres of cut-over land of the South Atlantic and Gulf Coast states are not inhabited and reduced to profitable farming is because private land and lumber companies have not attacked the problem of reclamation and settlement in this fashion. The agricultural potentialities of some of these lands are very inviting. They lie in an area of plentiful and well-distributed rainfall, rich soils,

long, frost-free growing seasons, and are near the great central market of the nation. They offer opportunities for building rural communities more complete and more perfectly planned than any natural-grown rural community of America. Thus far the lands available for the carrying out of such projects have suffered two chief fates. Lumber and land companies, knowing the agricultural possibilities of the areas from which the timber has been stripped, have sold land to individual settlers. The failures of such attempts to settle the lands have been almost universal and often tragic. The settler found himself incapable of financing the development of his lands, with no town in which to efficiently market his farm products, and devoid of schools, churches, or even roads and neighbors. Men who were anxiously seeking opportunity for farm-home ownership, and land companies which were attempting to promote settlement, often perfectly honestly, were basing prospects purely upon the physical characteristics of the soil, forgetting or not knowing that the economic and social aspects of farming are just as essential to success as are the physical.

The other thing that is happening in these cut-over regions is that the land is being abandoned by the companies who bought it for the lumber that was on it, and now, having cut all the merchantable timber, they cannot afford even to retain ownership because of the taxes which they are compelled to pay upon unprofitable lands. Where they do retain ownership, the land is allowed to grow up in briers and scrub tree growth, much of which will never yield a lumber supply, and all of which will make ultimate reclamation very difficult and expensive.

If the state or federal governments would adopt a reclamation program of reforestation or group settlement in all these areas, they would obviate both of the tragedies which we have just described. These cut-over and wet lands cannot be developed in any other way. The tasks of draining, road building, establishing local shipping points, and building communities demand a large outlay of capital and a large enough population to establish a complete community of people.

Landless men who would seek the opportunities of individual home ownership on these lands are most often not financially able to clear the land of stumps and undergrowth or even to build their own homes and equip themselves for farming. The farm must be handed to them, cleared, partially improved, and possibly seeded. They must be furnished ample and supervised long-time credit. They must be furnished community facilities.

The ideas presented here are not Utopian. They are the basis for the only probable methods of developing many of our reclamation areas. The Australian state settlements, the Durham state settlement of California and the private settlement of Hugh McRae at Wilmington, North Carolina, are all examples of the success of this method. All of them have been carried out in areas where all other methods have failed. All of them have demonstrated that this method, if successful financially, does reclaim the land, does help men to individual land ownership, and does establish high-class rural communities. Contrasted with this method of reclamation are the reverting of lands to idleness and wilderness and the tragic failure of individuals who have attempted to establish isolated homes in these areas. Furthermore, even where such lands have been brought under cultivation by means of corporate or individual large-scale development without the use of this method, tenant and hired-men farming has resulted. Reclamation areas thus developed constitute the worst rural slums of America. The alternatives between which we must choose seem clear. There is some indication just at present that we will choose rightly.

It ought now also to be clear that the land problem is more than a soil problem and, even more than an economic problem, that it is a problem of developing a rural civilization. Land is the basis of agriculture. Agriculture is the basis of rural life, and rural life and rural welfare are parts of the business of the nation.

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CHAPTER VI

THE RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING

WHAT A STANDARD OF LIVING IS

Standard of Living Is Variously Defined.—As civilization advances, planes and levels of living rise. Whether this is good or not few people question. They simply accept the so-called higher levels and consciously or unconsciously strive to find satisfaction and comfort on each new level of living. Furthermore, they all have standards by which to measure their habits of and opportunities for the consumption of goods and time. By these standards they measure the adequacy of living. Among the things essential to life, in order that it may measure up to desired standards, are necessities, comforts, and even luxuries. All of these tacitly accepted desirable things are relative to the standards of the age in which people live, the communities where they reside, and their knowledge of how other people, particularly those of their own community, are living. So-called necessities may be either those things which are essential for mere physical health and continued existence or may be conventional necessities, such as modes of dress and modes of conveyance. Comforts are not only those things which drive away or keep away physical pain and discomfiture but also those things which give social and psychical complacency. Luxuries are relative to one another and relative to conventional necessities and psychic comforts. A standard of living may be one thing and a standard of life may be another, in definitions. Here we are not quibbling over terms, however, but are only attempting to use some criteria by means of which we can measure the adequacy of farm life. We shall mean by standard of living, those material things, those uses of time, and those satisfactions which are a part of the habits of enough people to constitute

planes of living. The standard of living will thus include necessities, comforts, and luxuries—those things which persons enjoy and are unhappy without. The desires for these things are very real and all who have these desires strive to satisfy them. Furthermore, persons measure their success in life, to a large degree, in terms of their ability to satisfy these desires.

The Elements in a Standard of Living.—Measurements have been established or constructed for practically all things with which human beings deal, pounds, ounces, tons, for measuring weights; inches, feet, yards, miles, for measuring distances; cents, dollars, and other money forms for measuring market values and wealth; acres for measuring land, and so on, in every walk of life. Can we measure life and construct criteria for adequate and efficient living? The amount of free air space necessary for a healthy work or living environment is known; essential chemical constituents and calories of foods, for nourishments, are known; sickness and death rates are known; even measurements of intelligence status and learning are now being used. We measure human fatigue and strain, the reaction time of the senses, and attempt to measure men's reactions to moral and artistic standards. Every social or economic institution has its standard of efficiency. Apparently all we need to do is to bring together our knowledge of biology, psychology, sociology, and economics and we will have criteria by means of which to measure life and living.

In order to make our discussion concrete, a limited number of criteria or measurements will be used. These criteria do not measure all there is to life but they do establish accurate points of comparison and standards of value which cover the most outstanding desirable things in life. They will, therefore, serve for a, necessarily brief, survey of rural life. The criteria or units of measurements are, food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and social contacts. All these things are essential to a normal individual or community life. If any one of them is lacking, life is abnormal and if any one of them is not supplied in the quantity and quality which squares with physical needs or the social practices of others of our individual and community, life is unhappy.

THE RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING

General Facts and Conditions.—Practically all studies of standards of living have been based upon expenditures of money for consumption goods and economic and social services. It is true that in present-day economy almost all consumption goods and services are purchasable. Mere expenditure of money, however, cannot constitute a wholly satisfactory index to living, for uneconomical and wasteful expenditure of a given amount of money may buy a much smaller increment of goods and services to satisfy a given set of wants and desires than a less amount would buy if wisely spent. The expenditure of $100,000 in a poker game does not equal $1 spent in doctor's service for a sick child. How people spend their time in satisfying needs, particularly in satisfying desires, is as important as how they spend their money. Rural people have fairly recently come fully under the market and price régime and to the degree that they produce their consumption goods on the farm they are not yet fully under it. Any measurement of market expenditure will, therefore, fail completely to represent the actual rural standard of living.

The capacity to spend, for most people, is conditioned by the capacity to earn. The choice of whether to work harder, earn more, and thus have more to spend is an equally important choice with the proper choice between two alternative consumption goods. If rural people, in order to have cash income enough to make it possible for them to have elaborate outlays of physical goods and social services, must labor so hard and so long as to make them incapable of enjoying the goods and services which they purchase, it is highly doubtful whether they can be said to have a higher standard of living because of their mere capacity to spend money. No study, however, has yet been made of the time element in either earning or enjoying goods and services and, therefore, all we can do is to point out that since rural life is not being cast in a social scheme of such rigid division of labor and service as city life, the rural individual or family may very easily have a higher standard of living without the same trade in goods

and services as is necessary in the case of the urban individual or family.

Notwithstanding the difference between the setting and scheme of rural and city life, it is becoming an increasingly important fact that the standards of expenditure for goods that can be bought only in the market is the social and psychic standard that rural people desire.[1] On no other basis can the modern farmer's mad drive for income and wealth, even at the cost of almost unending fatigue, be explained. A comparison of rural family standards of expenditure with those of city dwellers is, therefore, a comparison which is constantly, both unconsciously and consciously, in the farmer's mind.

A Brief Appraisal of the Rural Standard of Living.—How does the farm standard of living compare with city standards in terms of food, clothing, shelter (housing and housing facilities), health, education, religion, recreation, and social contacts? To measure American agriculture in these terms is more important to the farmer than to measure it in terms of land incorporated in farms, acres under cultivation, value of crops and animals produced, or the number of people employed in agricultural pursuits.

Food.—Food is of importance as to quantity, quality, and consumption habits. In mere quantities of food consumed, the American farm family apparently far out-ranks the American city family. This is not a sure index to a more adequate food standard, however, due to the fact that people can eat too much as well as have too little to eat, and because farm people are almost universally outdoor, manual laborers, and thus require large quantities of food. The type of farm food is for the most part good, particularly if the garden, orchard, and cow furnish their share of it. The food can be fresh and well balanced in both nutrition and vitamines. Farm women are notably good cooks, only, however, in that they know how to cook all kinds of foods and cook them in ways that the family has learned to like. The home demonstration agents have found that there is much to be done in the field of teach-

[1] The term "market" here is used in the very broad sense to include all things for which money is expended.

ing balanced diets and less use of the frying pan. Farm food standards probably measure favorably with or above those of the city. Although many farm tenants of the lower class and farm families that follow a pure cash cropping system "set a very meager table" there is practically never found in rural districts such food destitution as leads to the bread and soup lines in great cities.

Clothing.—There are two aspects of the clothing problem, that of being well clad, and that of being well dressed. Rural people, for the most part, are well clad for the lives that they live and the work that they do. They are at times compelled to wear dirty clothes and often, because of the quick and periodic changes from outdoors to indoors, are not able to, or do not, accommodate their clothing to the overheated conditions of the indoors. Freezing to death because of lack of normal clothing is not often heard of among country people, but is by no means an unheard of thing among the destitute of the city.

The differences, so prevalent a generation ago, between the countryman and the townsman in dress are not so common now, and yet rural people probably do not measure up to city people in being well dressed. The stern attitudes of country parents often forbid that their children follow the fashion very closely. Country people wear work clothes most of the time, and the men's suits of clothes and the women's dresses are likely to be out of fashion before they are sufficiently worn out for their owners to feel justified in discarding them.

A country parent should be apprised of the subtle influence that being poorly dressed has upon the personality of young people. Country boys or girls, who cannot hold up their heads in the presence of all with whom they meet are compelled to develop feelings and attitudes that become woven into their personalities and against which they rebel bitterly. In the case of the first of these effects, permanent damage is done to self-respect and in case of the second there is developed, on the base of a seemingly trivial thing, a dislike for the whole country régime of life.

Shelter.—As will be pointed out in the chapter on the rural

home (Chap. IX), rural housing is one of the weakest spots in rural life. Usually no one but a poor man or a miser lives in a poor house. But in the rural districts people live in poor houses because of the lack of such public utilities as sewer, water, and lighting systems, and because the house, in competition with other farm buildings, does not yield economic income. The yard is seldom beautified and the house is poorly heated, lighted, and ventilated. The organization and arrangements of rooms are poor and household conveniences are meager. A part of the rural housing equipment is the working conveniences such as running water, sinks, and labor-saving devices. These are less prevalent in rural homes than in city homes. In fact, in every way, whether in space, room arrangement, equipment, or sanitation, the rural house does not measure up either to scientific or city housing standards.

Health.—It is usually assumed that rural people enjoy positive health and health opportunities far in excess of those who live in the city. That this is, to a considerable degree, a fallacy, will be seen in the chapter on rural health (Chap. XV). Farm work is hard and unremitting, often carried on in extreme weather exposure, and to a degree of excessive fatigue. Sanitary equipment and disease prevention are not easy to obtain in rural districts. The health facilities of doctors, nurses, drug stores, hospitals, and clinics are located chiefly a long distance from the farm family. Sickness or "weakliness" is often thought of among rural people as a disgrace, and many damaging superstitions still prevail in rural districts. In matters of health rural people do not enjoy advantages equal to city people.

Education.—Education consists in learning to work, earn, and live in a world of human events. The rural child learns one occupation by a very apt apprenticeship. He learns to earn probably as well or better than the average child in the city. In becoming acquainted with the world, he is handicapped both by lack of outside contacts and of school opportunities. His school equipment, school year, and school attendance are all short of city standards. The value of school property, amount spent for expenditures and permanent

equipment per school child are all less in rural regions than in cities. The rural teacher is more poorly paid, and less experienced than the average city teacher. Libraries, reading material, museums, zoological gardens, or art galleries to supplement school training are fewer in the country than in the city. In every way, the rural standard of living suffers because of lack of educational opportunity.

Religion.—The only way rural religion can be measured is in terms of church, Sunday school, and other institutional equipment, in terms of ministers' salaries and in opportunities for participation in institutional religious activities. The rural church building, the salary of the minister, and the frequency of organized religious programs are all meager in the country in comparison with the city. Other religious agencies, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Salvation Army, work chiefly in cities. By means of the only quantitative standards available, the rural standard of living suffers because of lack of religious equipment and opportunity.

Recreation.—Opportunities for play, play equipment, and expenditure for amusement and recreation are less in the country than in the city. Adults in the rural districts scarcely play at all. They quite often consider such things foolish and even immoral. Rural children do not have the advantages of organized playgrounds or supervised play. Their community does not provide the space, the equipment, or the supervision, and their parents do not provide the money for elaborate participation in commercial recreation. The rural standard suffers in comparison to the city standard in this respect.

Social Contacts.—Social contacts can be measured statistically only by the frequencies of meetings with other people. Rural life is comparatively meager in institutional gatherings, volunteer social and business gatherings, opportunities to meet people from other families and other communities than their own. The isolation of the rural home and the necessary restrictions of the farm enterprise rob the rural resident of any great opportunity for social contacts. In frequency of personal contacts rural life falls far short of city life.

If a brief generalization in a comparison of rural with urban life by means of the elements in the standard of living were made a crude picture of the social and psychological setting of rural life would be shown. It may be that city life has no right to set the standard, but it does. Rural people, like all people in all times and all places, do and will continue to measure the satisfactoriness of their composite existence by the criterion of favorable comparison with that of other people whom they know or of whom they have heard. This comparison is, therefore, not a strained or a theoretical thing. It is an attempt to bring together some quantitative measurement of those things which furnish the every-day facilities of life, by means of which it satisfies or does not satisfy the people who have these facilities. Let us, therefore, for graphic purposes list the crude comparisons of rural and urban facilities and practices, and then visualize rural life in terms of its standard of living. Each element in the standard of living is placed in the city or the country column, according to the advantage which each environment offers:

TABLE 5.—COMPARISONS IN STANDARD OF LIVING

Country	City
Food	
Clothing (well clad)	Clothing (well dressed)
	Shelter (housing and facilities)
Health (environment)	Health (facilities)
	Education
	Religion (institutional equipment etc.)
	Recreation (time and equipment)
	Social contacts
Rural advantages 3	City advantages 7

Statistical and Detailed Studies of the Rural Standard of Living.—The broad generalizations made in the immediately preceding section of this chapter were not stated in statistical terms. A great number of statistical studies of standards of living have been made, the findings of which were used in formulating these generalizations. No single study has in-

cluded in its scope of investigation both urban and rural populations. Until this is done the psychological elements of the influence of one standard of living on the other will not be given due consideration, for rural people, like other people, do not so much measure their satisfactions of life by statistical or scientific standards as they do by community or customary standards. Today their community and their observation of its life includes the city.

If the standard of living is to be measured in terms of the amount of family expenditure, the price levels of the year in which the budgets are studied will always have to be taken into consideration. Professor W. F. Ogburn, of Columbia University, in a careful estimate of the "minimum of comfort level" for a family of five, estimated in 1918, the necessary expenditure of $1,760. Adjusting these estimates to present price levels would demand about $2,000. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated for families living in Washington, D. C., in 1919, a necessary annual expenditure of $2,262. These figures can be left to stand because of the very slight difference between the price level of that year and the years in which the rural estimates used here were made. The minimum budget of the New York Factory Commission, made from a study conducted in 1915 on the basis of 1914 expenditure, was $876. Raising this figure so as to adjust it to the price levels of the years in which the rural studies were made would make this estimate $1,559. The New York Factory Commission's estimate was for a "minimum family budget," Professor Ogburn's was for a "minimum of comfort level," and the Bureau of Labor Survey was for a "level of health and decency among government employees." It would therefore be fair to take the average of the three as our city standard. This would be $1,940 per year per family.[1]

If we take rural standard of living studies made in Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, New York, Alabama, and Iowa we find that the expenditures per rural family average $1,642

[1] *Report on the Steel Strike*, Appendix A, pp. 225-263, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, Inc., New York, 1920.

per year. In these studies were included 2,032 farm families.[1] The value of home-produced foods, house rent, and all other items for which city people would have to pay cash are included in the estimates. The family expenditures per year ranged from $1,122.50 per family in Tennessee to $2,012 in New York. One of the studies in Kentucky showed an annual expenditure of $1,614.10. This more nearly approaches the average for the whole 2,032 families than any other. We may therefore take it as a basis for more detailed analyses. The following table presents the distribution of the family budget between the different items in the standard of living.

TABLE 6.—DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE EXPENDITURE AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF ITEMS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JULY 1, 1923 OF 360 FARM FAMILIES OF MASON COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Item	Owner Families, Per cent (229)	Tenant Families, Per cent (131)	All Families, Per cent (360)
Food	34.5	43.3	37.0
Clothing	14.6	15.0	14.7
Rent	14.4	10.9	13.4
Furnishings	1.9	2.1	2.0
Operating expenses	14.8	12.1	14.0
Maintenance of health	3.0	3.5	3.2
Advancement	6.7	2.9	5.6
Personal	2.1	1.8	2.0
Savings	7.6	8.0	7.7
Unclassified	.4	.4	.4

If we now take the expenditure of the city budget, we find that food represents 35.5 per cent of the annual family expenditure, clothing, 17.8 per cent, and housing 16.9 per cent. In these three items are included some of the expenditures that appear under furnishings and operating expenditures in the farm family budget. If these three items are resolved into common terms we find that the rural families

[1] All of these studies were conducted in cooperation with the Bureau of Agriculture Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. The Report of the separate studies can be obtained from that source. The estimates given here are based upon weighted averages of the number of farm families studied in the various states.

spend 75.1 per cent of their total budget for these three facilities while city families expend only 70.2 per cent of their annual budget for them. The country families expend a larger per cent for food and the city families a larger per cent for clothing. Of the farm family budget $1,283 is expended in these three items, leaving only $331.50 to be spent for all other items. Of the city family budget $1,362 was spent for these three items leaving $578 to be spent for other things. It is the other expenditures that buy service, education, recreation, and similar cultural goods and services. It is impossible to carry the comparison further because of the difference in the two methods of classifying expenditures. The facts cited here are sufficient to show that the direction and content of our brief appraisal of the farmer's standard of living is based on statistical studies as well as on wide personal observation.

MODIFYING THE RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING

Modification Under Pressure.—A sufficiently large number of studies of standards of living have been made to make it possible to know generally what happens to different types of expenditures when the family budget is subjected to pressure. Engel's four famous laws are generalizations of this type. Ernst Engel in 1857 made a careful study of the family budgets of Belgian and Saxon working people. He studied the findings reported in Le Play's, *Family Monographs,* formulated as schedule of normal distribution of expenditures, and carefully observed what happened to this distribution under different family incomes. His four laws are:

1. As the income of a family increased, a smaller percentage of it was expended for food.
2. As the income of a family increased, the percentage of expenditure for clothing remained approximately the same.
3. With all the incomes investigated, the percentage of expenditure for rent, fuel, and light remained invariably the same.
4. As the income increased in amount, a constantly increas-

ing percentage was expended for education, health, recreation, amusement, etc.[1] Engel's laws are stated in terms of increasing incomes but the exact reverse would of course be true with decreasing incomes.

Professor Streightoff modifies Engel's laws to some degree. His two most important modifications are: *First,* that the expenditures for fuel and light do not remain the same with increasing incomes but decrease relatively to increasing incomes; and, *second,* that expenditures for cultural wants increase both absolutely and relatively with increasing incomes.[2]

The correctness of generalizations one and four, concerning the tendency in the distribution of family income under the economic pressure of low incomes, has been borne out in every standard of living study made since Engel made his study, whether the study was of urban or rural family budgets. We have already noted in the comparison between urban and rural incomes that the physical needs absorbed a larger percentage of the rural budget. The same rule holds true, in the main, when a comparison is made between different rural family budgets. In the Alabama study of rural family budgets the average expenditure for food was 59.9 per cent of the whole budget when the income was below $1,000 per year, and was only 31.9 per cent when the income was $3,000 or more for the year. In the $1,000 income group 92.8 per cent of the entire income was expended for purely physical necessities, not including health. This left only 7.2 per cent, or $72, to be expended for health, cultural needs and desires, and for savings. In the $3,000 group only 74.1 per cent was expended for physical needs, not including health, leaving 25.9 per cent, or $777, for health, cultural wants, and savings. In the survey it was shown that the expenditures for clothing decreased regularly with decreasing incomes, that the proportion for rent, furniture and furnishings, health, and personal uses remained about the same in all budgets, though, of course, the lower-income families expended in dollars and

[1] For an account of Engel's study reported in English, see CHAPIN, R. C., *Standard of Living,* p. 11, 1909.

[2] STREIGHTOFF, F. H., *The Standard of Living among the Industrial People of America,* pp. 12-20, Houghton, Mifflin Company, New York, 1911.

cents less money for these things. Not only was the absolute expenditure for house and home furnishings less among the lower-income families but the houses in which the poorer families lived were quite universally smaller.

The Influence of Tenancy upon the Rural Standard of Living Is Universally to Depress it.—This is not so marked in the Middle West and such eastern states as New York, but is very marked in the Southern States where the tenants are scarcely entrepreneurs at all. The standards of living for the Southern States are lower than those for New York and Iowa in the six rural studies mentioned above. The standards of living are universally lower among the tenants than among the owners in the Southern States. In the Alabama study the total tenant expenditures were found to be approximately 35 per cent below those for the owners, although tenant families were 9 per cent larger. Among the upper-income families the expenditures were approximately 50 per cent below those for the owners. The cropper families, however, were 40 per cent smaller than the owner families. In Kentucky, Texas, and Tennessee about the same comparisons obtain.

The modification in the distribution of the family incomes between different items also holds true in the case of tenant and cropper families. A larger proportion of the expenditure of tenants than of owners must go for physical necessities and, consequently, both a smaller proportion and a very much smaller absolute amount is left for advancement, health, savings, and cultural wants. The owner families of the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas expended 17.2 per cent of their family budgets for health, savings, and cultural wants while the tenant families expended only 12.9 per cent, and the cropper families expended only 9.2 per cent, for these items. When figured in dollars and cents, the smaller proportions of smaller budgets means a very small outlay for anything except dire physical necessities. In Alabama, the expenditure for the items of health, savings, and cultural wants was shown to be only $100.60 per family among tenants, and $61.70 among croppers' families as compared with $268.30

among owner families. In a survey of 1000 families in North Carolina it was found that the tenants lived in smaller houses, had poorer education, gave less to churches, attended recreation and amusement events less often, and in every way had a lower standard of living than the owners had.[1]

One Crop or Few Crop Systems of Agriculture.—These conditions apparently tend to reduce the standards of living of the people who follow them. A calculation of the cultural facilities and practices of farm families living in the nine states east of the Mississippi River and south of Kentucky, including Kentucky and excluding Florida, showed a higher rate of illiteracy among the native-born whites, less reading materials in farm homes, and fewer telephones than in farm houses of the nation at large. In some of these areas, over 99 per cent of the land under cultivation was planted to cotton and tobacco. Comparisons were made between the counties of various states which produced cotton almost to the exclusion of all other crops. In as far as comparisons were possible it was found that the deficiency in cultural facilities was magnified in these counties in comparison to the counties of the same states that were following a more diversified form of agriculture.[2] The exclusive production of single or few crops robs the family of home produced supplies, magnifies the tendency toward a tenant system of farming, and seldom ever produces a steady accumulation of farm wealth.

Modifications of the Rural Standard of Living by Conscious Choice between Values of Different Items in the Standard.—The point has already been made that a standard of living cannot be measured wholly in terms of cash expenditures. But even if it is, there is always present the opportunity to sacrifice one expenditure for another. A better house may be sacrificed in order to educate the children. A greater expenditure for clothing or housing may be sacrificed to pro-

[1] Zimmerman and Taylor, *Economic and Social Condition of North Carolina Farmers,* North Carolina State College of Agriculture, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1922.

[2] Paper read by the author before the North Carolina State Conference of Social Service on "The Influence of Cotton and Tobacco in Southern Civilization," July, 1925.

vide more wholesome and more elaborate recreation and amusement facilities and opportunities. Rural people, like people everywhere, can and do modify their standards of living by these means. There is always the possibility of more economical expenditure for the necessary physical items and a consequent saving of money which may be spent for cultural items. There are the opportunities for using one's time in such a way as to get satisfactions in life which do not cost money and cannot be bought for money. While the standard of living of a family is necessarily prejudiced by economic income in a society as thoroughly dominated by a price system as ours is, there is always opportunity, except possibly among the most poverty-stricken families, for the modification of the mode of living by conscious choice between possible satisfactions.

The Psychology of a Standard of Living.—A standard of living, as we have seen, is composed of those things which give satisfaction or enjoyment to those participating in it. Similarly it is likely to give discontent and unhappiness to those who observe it being enjoyed by others but not available to themselves. Farm people have been criticised for wanting to use goods which are a part of the habits of consumption of the higher-income families of city life. This is but natural, now that they come constantly in contact with city people and observe their modes of life. It is only by the urge obtained by such observations or through conscious education that all standards of living have been raised. The comforts of one class may not at one time be even the luxuries of another, but constant contact of the two classes would either demand a leveling up or cause the handicapped and restricted class to rebel in one way or another. Sooner or later the luxuries of all classes who live in contact with one another must approach equality, or discontent will be perpetual. Rural people are now a part of the larger community and so will continue to strive for the larger community's standard of living.

But even though the standard of living always tends to rise, pulled by those at the top who live more sumptuously,

it rises comparatively slowly. It is a composite of life's consumption habits and has tremendous inertia. This is why rural people, in the mountains and other isolated places, are sometimes called our "contemporaneous ancestors." They are only slightly influenced by contacts with the outside world and so tend to perpetuate their old levels of life. The psychology of protest among farmers, while steadily increasing, is slight when compared to that of the handicapped classes of the city who live daily face to face with luxury standards of living.

The recession from a standard of living once attained is as slow as the rise to a new standard of living. Once a level of consumption and satisfactions is attained, it quickly becomes custom bound. This is partly the explanation of farmer protests following even comparatively brief high-price levels. During these periods of prosperity, farmers taste the new satisfactions and refuse to relinquish them when the depression follows. Farms are mortgaged, the drift to cities is augmented, and all kinds of farmer protest organizations arise in an attempt to maintain the standards of living which they have newly established. Farmers may be wholly unconscious of the psychological facts which operate in their standard of living, but they are always there and no amount of ignorance concerning them nor any preaching about them will renounce them. They will always tend to urge the standard up when in contact with other people of higher standards and to keep them on accustomed levels once these levels are attained.

IMPROVING THE RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING

Better and More Efficient Farming.—That the standard of living may be improved by greater efficiency in professional and occupational technique is usually accepted as true. The universal and continual rise in standards of living from one generation to another is largely to be explained by society's capacity to make better adaptations to and utilizations of nature. The fruits of the development of new physical wealth

usually accrue, partially at least, to those who initiate its production. There is no doubt that in those areas of most fertile land and best farm production the standards of living are higher than in the less fertile and poorer areas. Examples are numerous of the better farmers of given communities profiting and succeeding, in comparison with their neighbors, because of the wise choice of crops, better selection of breeds, and more careful methods of cultivation and harvesting. It is not apparent, however, that the tremendous emphasis placed on improved methods of production by colleges of agriculture, the United States Department of Agriculture, and state departments of agriculture has always resulted in higher standards of living among rural people. The accomplishment of "making two blades of grass grow where one previously grew" has undoubtedly raised the standard of living for society as a whole but it has not raised the standard of living for farm families commensurately with that of some other segments of our society, and has come near leaving some classes of our farm population with static standards of living.

Better Business Methods.—The task of business is to translate physical wealth into cash dividends. By so doing, it converts goods into capital, and makes it possible for people engaged in one specialized occupation to buy those goods and services produced and furnished by other specialized producing groups. In a day of division of labor, price, and market systems, the possible standard of living of a family depends largely upon how much money it can make its occupation or occupations produce. By a wise organization of the farm enterprise, a farmer can get the maximum use of his land, the best combination of crops, and maximum labor uses for himself and his work animals. To teach him how to do this is the task of the science of Farm Management. Gains to be made, or already made, in this field of endeavor are little short of startling. Not only can a farmer by better uses and organization of his fields and by a better distribution of his own and his work animals' time assure himself greater cash income, but he can greatly enhance the standards of living of his family by the production of vegetables, fruits, dairy

products, meat supply, poultry, and eggs. This is a step that must be taken in many farming sections, particularly in the cash-crop and tenant-farming sections, before much of anything else can be done to improve the standard of living of the people who live in these areas.

The second scientific business approach to increasing the farm standard of living is in better methods of marketing. The farm products are grown in the fields but the dividends are declared in the market places. Farming is now largely a commercial enterprise and must depend upon commercial technique to be successful. Not only must farmers learn how to merchandise their products but they must learn to produce those types and standards of goods which the consuming public, with its critical buying mind and semi-luxury demands, wants. Furthermore, farmers must learn to produce only those quantities which the markets of the world can absorb at prices which will yield profits to the farmer. This will largely mean the abandonment of producing by custom only those crops and other products which generations of ancestors have produced in given areas. The lag in the farmer's level of living is in no small measure to be explained by the fact that farmers have not yet adjusted themselves to a commercial type of farming which business methods and criteria dictate that the farmer must do to succeed.

Teaching, Directly, Better Methods of Living.—The standard of living of any given family is established by two chief factors—the physical wants that arise out of organic existence, and the desires stimulated by social contacts and training. The knowledge of physiology, medicine, dietetics, and similar sciences dealing specifically with the human body and organic processes is sufficient to establish standards by which people can live efficiently. All, who seek to improve conditions and habits making for human efficiency and welfare, should be concerned with applying the findings of these sciences to life. In rural districts this means promoting the work of the home economist, the dietitian, and the school and public health nurse. It means the placing of home economics in the rural common school curricula. It means using every

method possible to encourage farm people to use the same scientific procedure in rearing their children and providing for their families that they are rapidly learning to use in the feeding and management of their livestock. It means the placing of at least an equal and preferably a greater emphasis upon the human or life side of agriculture than is now placed upon the technical production and business aspect of farming.

Many elements in the rural standard of living cannot be supplied in the farm home, no matter how great the economic income may be. Such items as health, recreation, education, religion, and social contacts must be supplied by community action and community institutions. This means that farmers, if they would raise their standard of living, must be willing to pay higher taxes for schools, roads, hospitals, and parks. They must learn to coöperate in furnishing volunteer social services for their families and communities.

Mrs. Winifred Stuart Gibbs shows that by direct teaching of health, housing, home conveniences, dietetics, and clothing standards, it is comparatively easy to improve the standards of living of a family without increasing its income. She lists case after case where these things were definitely accomplished within one year's time among New York City families.[1] The annual reports of the Farm Home Demonstration Agents for the various states give ample and almost startling proof of similar accomplishments.

Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick shows, in his New York State study of the rural standard of living, that there are very definite correlations between certain items in the standard of living and the whole set of expenditures and consumption habits of the families which he studied. These specific items he discovered to be education, housing, religion, vacation trips, and reading facilities. The high correlations may be due chiefly to the fact that it is only those families that can afford high standards of living that can afford these social facilities. But it may also suggest the points at which farm life can be attacked most advantageously in order to improve its whole

[1] Gibbs, Winifred S., *The Minimum Cost of Living*, pp. 49-93, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917.

standard of living. At any rate, he found no such close correlation between either the size of the farm business or the production of crops with the total family standard of living as he found between the social items and values, and the total family standard of living. Men do not farm just to see how much pork they can produce in one hog. Neither do they farm merely "to make two blades of grass grow where one previously grew," though both of these are laudable undertakings. They are, however, only means to an end. The end and real purpose of the farmer is to obtain, by means of his farm enterprise and out of the advantages of country life, an adequate and satisfying life for himself, his family, and his community. This adequacy and these satisfactions are measured by his standard of living. All farmers, and all who are interested in rural welfare, must learn to measure farm efficiency in these terms, and ardently strive to increase their quantity and quality.

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Part Two

RURAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL ISOLATION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNICATION IN RURAL LIFE

Isolation and Contacts.—Isolation, in a relative sense, is probably as universal an index to rural life as any other one thing. Certainly it is in marked contrast to the congestion of cities. The per capita population per square mile in Iowa is 40, in Kansas is 20, in Wyoming and Arizona is less than 2, and in Nevada less than 1 per square mile. The per capita population per square mile in Rhode Island is 508, and in Massachusetts is 418. In New York City the population per square mile is 12,160, and in certain blocks in the heart of the city the density of population reaches 1,458 per acre or 933,120 per square mile. There are single blocks in New York that have as many people crowded into them as live in one-third of the whole state of Arizona. Of course these are the two extremes of congestion and isolation. They are cited merely to emphasize the fact that in comparison with the city the country has very few opportunities for contacts.

The general effects of social isolation and its opposite, social contacts, are so well known that we need do little more than name them. Social evolution, social progress, and developing civilization, can all be spelled in terms of increasing human contacts. Increasing human contacts universally depend upon means of communication and transportation. Human thinking itself has developed almost wholly through the use of language. An individual who is robbed of the means of language, we call dumb. Human personality is developed through contacts. Civilization never has and cannot now develop in isolation. It always follows in the paths of communication and transportation. The trade routes of the world for a long time dictated the location and expansion of civiliza-

tion. Rome never effectively expanded the power of her government beyond the end of her roads. England is the world empire she is today because of her merchant marine. The United States has developed by means of her railways and waterways, and it is extremely doubtful whether she would at this time be a union, if it were not for her great network of transportation and communication. The Berlin to Bagdad Railroad was the hinge of the Pan-German Empire scheme. The means of transportation and communication are as pertinent to civilization today as they ever were, and they are each day growing more numerous and varied and subtle. We live so habitually in their midst that we fail to recognize their function and significance, and yet, if we were to be robbed of them for twenty-four hours, we would feel isolated indeed. No rural community is completely devoid of all means of communication. Just in the degree, however, that one, or many, of the modern technologies of communication is lacking, to that degree the community is isolated, for isolation is not so much a matter of geographic distance as it is lack of human contacts.

The Agencies of Communication.—Roads, waterways, steam railroads, electric roads—street cars and interurbans—air routes, all the vehicles of transportation, telegraphs, telephones, cables, wireless, books, papers and magazines, business and personal correspondence, and word of mouth are direct agencies of communication. There is not one of these that is not more prevalent in the city than in the country. There is scarcely one of them that is not becoming more common in the rural districts year after year. The chief motif in the story from pioneer to modern times is that of developing means of transportation and communication. The story itself is one of transforming bleak isolation into the fair degree of socialization. Increased facilities of transportation and communication have, in fact, been the chief agencies for developing in the farmer a consciousness of the rural problem. They have thrown him into contact with the outside world, given him ideals of progress, and desires which were not his a few years ago. They have caused him to see the possibility of

developing a real society or community in his native environment by bringing into it a knowledge of, and contact with, the remainder of society. His schools, his churches, his homes, and everything he does or thinks are today different because of his increasing means of contact.

Previous to the development of these means of communication, rural society was like a powerful giant without a nervous system with which to coordinate its activities, or appraise its pain and pleasures. With this nervous system supplied, rural communities and rural societies are not only becoming coordinated in their activity but highly conscious of their pains, pleasures, and aspirations. Few people know how rapidly the transformation has taken place and fewer still appreciate its significance to the economic and social life of those who live on the farm, and likewise to our national life. Because this is true, this chapter will attempt to set forth the facts concerning the development and present status of these means of transportation and communication, and venture some interpretation of these facts.

RURAL TRANSPORTATION

The Development and Influence of Railroads.—We have had our railroads so long in the United States that we now take them as a matter of course. If we will but contrast our agricultural position with that of Russia, China, India, Africa, or even sections of South America, where great potential agricultural areas are undeveloped economically or socially, or if we will but contrast the position of the mid-western and western farmer of today, with his position fifty to eighty years ago, we will quickly grasp the significance of railway development to the development of agriculture. The United States has today 37.5 per cent of the railroad mileage of the world. We have a greater railroad mileage than all Europe combined, and practically as much railroad mileage as all the other great agricultural areas of the world combined. Without these railroads there is no reason to believe we would be more advanced agriculturally than Russia or India, for the agriculture of

Iowa, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and other states similarly located did not develop and never would have developed to any considerable degree had men been compelled to continue to haul their crops and drive their livestock from twenty-five to hundreds of miles to market. Imagine the development of the California fruit industry, lying as it does 2,500 miles away from the field of consumption, with no outlet to central markets. Before the advent of railroads, production for the market, even in our now greatest agricultural areas, was restricted to a narrow strip on each side of the great navigable streams, such as the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers. The very extensiveness of our agricultural domain demanded an era of railroad expansion as a pre-fact to a great agricultural era.

The more outstanding effects upon agriculture of our railroad expansion and developments are as follows:

1. Agriculture became an *enterprise* when it began producing for the market. Previous to the time that it became possible to market the surplus production of certain farming areas, the farmers of these areas were of little more than sentimental concern to society at large. Agricultural neighborhoods were isolated atoms of society whose existence was of little concern to others, except as they were connected by blood relationships and friendships of the past, or had some possibility of future contacts. With the extension of railroads into the areas where these pioneers live, there developed on the part of the farmer the opportunity to produce for profit, and on the part of society at large, an opportunity to benefit from the production of great food supplies. There was created a market demand and market supply relationship which transformed an isolated, self-sufficient lot of producers into the great national world enterprise of farming.

2. The development of those great and immense productive areas into market sources stabilized the food markets of the world. For every food area that was tapped by a new line of transportation, there was a decreasing possibility of the consuming public being left hungry by the failure of one or more other food areas. The agitation for protection by means of tariff against other food-producing sections of the world

is but an index to the influence of the present transportability of raw products.

3. A better-adapted system of agricultural production was made possible by the development of markets, and markets were the direct result of transportation development. Commercial fruit growing is a product of the last 100 years. The California fruit industry is a direct result of transcontinental railway development.

Vegetable gardening was almost purely a household industry until methods of rapid transportation and good refrigeration were developed. The poultry and egg industries, which now constitute an annual business of over $1,000,000,000 in the United States would have remained forever infant industries without railroads. The marketable milk zones of our great cities have expanded from the distance of a team's haul from the city to a distance, in the case of great cities, of 250 miles. Before the development of rapid transit routing, refrigeration, and other modern transportation facilities, men who wanted to farm for profit could do very little by way of adapting production to profits on one side, and location, climate, and soil conditions on the other side. Today the great vegetable and fruit industries are the best examples of the results of the new development.

4. Farmers were able to get foods from other sections of the nation and the world by exchanging agricultural surplus products for them. Self-sufficient, isolated farming was never sufficient for more than a crude existence. The standard of living on the farm began to rise when the farmer began to buy and sell in the world markets.

5. National unity and national greatness have been greatly aided as a result of our fine system of railway transportation. The railroads have made it possible to center the government at Washington, and organize the economic life at certain great loci of trade and commerce. Our great exports have developed out of our surplus agricultural production. We are great because we are great agriculturally, and we could not be great agriculturally without an outlet to the markets of the world.

The chief economic problems of the farmer, from the start,

have been marketing problems. Our earlier marketing problems were those of physical transportation; our present marketing problems are chiefly those of market finance. Because of this latter-day emphasis, we sometimes overlook the vital character of the earlier development, and its far-reaching effect upon American agriculture. If the dawn of our agricultural millennium is to come through the present great push forward in marketing development, we should at least not overlook the renaissance, due to the development of the physical means of transportation. Indeed, such physical elements of the marketing problem as hauling, routing, refrigeration, etc. are still vitally fundamental problems. Of far greater significance than the addition of a few cents to the city price of the farm-grown products is the marvel that products produced in such scattered isolation can be so readily had in the centers of population of the world, and that vegetables and fruits grown in California and Florida can by modern means of transportation be placed thousands of miles away on the table of the consumer while they are still fresh.

The Interurban and Rural Electric Line.—The coming of the automobile followed so closely upon the heels of the development of the rural electrical transportation systems that we have failed to grasp the significance of the electric service to rural communities. Because neither the United States census nor electrical traction companies classify their rural and urban electrical mileage separately, it is impossible to ascertain what the direct service to the people of the rural districts is. The prime function of many electrical rail lines is to offer rapid transit from one town to another. Others are not interurban at all, but find their terminals in the rural districts themselves. Certain sections of New England are a regular network of electric railway lines. The houses sometimes are ranged for miles along the car tracks. Vegetables, fruits, and produce are daily marketed by way of these lines. Shopping in the village is regularly done by using these systems. Regular milk cars operate at certain times of the day. Express, parcel post, and mail are delivered by electric line. People go to church in them. In fact these cars are used for practically

every conceivable transportation function which rural communities need. The development in New England is just a suggestion of what we might have expected in other sections had it not been for the advent of the automobile.

It is impossible for anyone who was not living in the rural community where there was no thought or knowledge of automobiles, but where the community had the possibility of getting an electric line, to realize the vision which such a possibility encouraged. The author even now—twenty-five years from such a situation—at times dreams at night of riding from the old farm to the nearby village on one of these wonderfully rapid and accommodating electric lines. The impressions laid by such anticipation may now be mere stuff for reflective dreams. They might have been prophecies of realities had it not been for the coming of the automobile.

Country Roads.—The public roads are our greatest and most indispensable lines of transportation and communication. In addition to being the very framework of rural organization in every rural community they have a profound national significance. In ancient times, the extent of an empire was limited by the farthest reach of its government roads. Today road building may not be projected with an aim to extending the frontiers of empires, but road building is still essential to the internal economic and social development of all nations.

The highways of the nation should be woven into a national transportation system. They should correlate with our railroads, waterways, and electric lines in such a way as to establish the very fabric of our social organization. We have approximately 2,500,000 miles of wagon roads. We have about one-tenth that amount of railroad mileage. Probably 25 per cent of all traffic carried by the railroads also passes over the wagon roads of the country. The percentage of freight from country roads which fails to reach the railroads is probably greater than the amount of railroad freight. The passenger traffic on country roads is many times as great as that which passes over the railroads.

The United States Department of Agriculture estimated

that in 1912 it cost $72,948,000 to move our twelve principal agricultural crops from the country points to their respective shipping points. The railroad freight traffic from country shipping points is bound to vary in direct ratio to bad road conditions in that district. This variation reaches the point of a 50 per cent slump at country stations during the period of bad roads. Such facts are significant to the total consuming public which depends upon these raw products from the farms. They are significant to the railroads, and they are significant to the farmer. Every one is cognizant of the fact that increased freight rates mean increased cost of consumable goods, due to two things: *first,* the actual freight cost and, *second,* the transportation costs which keep a great amount of products from being moved to market at all. Unhappily, we have been slow in recognizing that these factors operate just as directly in relation to country roads as they do to railroads or city deliveries.

It was estimated in 1906 that the cost per ton mile on country roads in the United States is 22.7 cents. This rises to 60 cents per ton mile on a dry-sand road and drops to 8 cents on a broken-rock road. The average country haul at that time was found to be 9.4 miles. This constituted an average cost of $2.13 per ton for delivery of country products to shipping points. If the nation has felt that it is good business economy to assure its people an efficient railway freight and passenger service, how much more should it concern itself with the country road transportation problem. The hard surfacing of our country roads would probably save us annually $55,000,000 to $75,000,000, and the reduction of grades on country roads would probably save twice that amount.[1]

Slowly, but surely, we have recognized the national significance of these facts. The first federal appropriation of $10,000 was made by the Congress of the United States in 1895 to enable the Department of Agriculture to investigate the conditions of roads throughout the country. Today, the nation is spending $100,000,000 in assistance to states and counties

[1] *Farmers' Bulletin No. 505,* United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

for road building and road administration work. State and local governments are probably expending twenty times that amount. The hard-surfaced roads of the United States are more than enough to encircle the globe. The public road, always more generally used than any other line of transportation and communication, has at last gained economic and social status throughout the nation. The results of the next few years are beyond prophecy.

Of more immediate significance to our present study is the influence of road improvement on the people who live on the farms. In an attempt to make this fact apparent we shall enumerate the chief benefits of such improvement:

1. The existence of good roads increases land values. A government survey of typical counties in the states of Virginia, New York, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida showed an increase in actual selling value of farm lands adjacent to improved roads to have varied from 25 to 194 per cent in the different counties surveyed. This was said to be an average of $9 per acre. The value per acre would probably be much greater on higher-priced lands. Lands of equal productive capacity and equal improvement are always appraised in values varying in direct ratio to their proximity to centers of population. The building of a hard-surfaced road reduces the time and energy expended in traveling or hauling to and from the population center, which is generally a shipping point. The reduction of that time and energy is synonymous to moving the farm that much closer to town.

2. Good roads decrease the transportation expense to and from the farm. We have already noted the fact that the cost for transportation over a sand road is reduced 52 cents per ton-mile in the case of a broken-rock road. This means that it will cost a farmer no more to haul a ton 5.7 miles over a broken-rock road than it will to haul the same load two miles over a common dirt road or that he can haul almost three times as great a load over the former road as he can over the latter. Road tests over road surfaces of various kinds give the following figures for a one-horse load:

TABLE 7.—ROAD TESTS OVER ROAD SURFACES OF VARIOUS KINDS[1]

Kind of Road	Number of Pounds
Muddy earth road	0 to 800
Smooth dry earth road	1,000 to 2,000
Gravel road (bad condition)	1,000 to 1,500
Gravel road (good condition)	1,000 to 3,300
Macadam road	2,000 to 5,000
Brick road	5,000 to 8,000

This table shows that if the speed of travel is the same on the two roads, a horse can haul from two and a half to six times as much in a day over a macadam as over a moderately muddy road. Furthermore, if the roads are excessively muddy, hauling is altogether impossible while the condition of a hard-surfaced road is comparatively constant.

No studies have been made to ascertain what portion of the horse labor in rural districts is used for road hauling. We have approximately $2,000,000,000 worth of mules and horses on American farms. If we assume that one-half of these animals are used as work animals, and we could increase their efficiency by furnishing better roads over which to haul to and from the farm, we would thereby add $1,000,000 to their value as traction forces.

3. Good roads make it possible to market products at the most advantageous time in the year, and any day in the year. With good roads farmers can market their products in such a way and at such a time as to take advantage of market conditions and plan their market work in relation to their other farm work.

4. Good roads improve rural delivery service. Mail can be brought to the rural homes much more promptly by means of the automobile than by the horse-drawn vehicle. Mail routes can be lengthened, and thus more people served in the same length of time. In some sections of the country, the merchants have developed rural delivery wagons which serve to gather country produce and deliver groceries. These de-

[1] *Ibid.*

liveries can be stabilized and made more universal if road surfaces of the right kind are provided.

5. Good roads increase the facilities for assemblage of rural people. Farm organizations, clubs, parties and dances, institutes, religious, social, and recreational activities are all made surer of success and more often attempted if the roads are the kind that can be depended upon. There is probably nothing which so handicaps community assembly programs, makes attendance upon them more precarious, and often forbids them at the very time of year when farmers have most leisure time than do bad country roads.

6. Good roads improve school systems. Surveys of comparative communities in Alabama, New York, and Michigan show that school attendance is increased 15 per cent because of good roads. Transportation of children to and from schools, probably the greatest stumbling block to consolidation, is made easy over good roads. If we compare the average rural school attendance of the ten states with the greatest percentage of improved highways, with the ten with the lowest percentage of improved road mileage, we find that the attendance is almost exactly 5 per cent higher in the states with the improved roads.

7. Good roads make the automobile and the truck available and profitable vehicles on the farm. If the automobile can be used for the regular road business which is demanded, and if the truck can be made usable at all times of the year by means of hard-surfaced roads, these vehicles become not luxuries but necessities on the farm. They operate in just as economic a way as do the horses which they replace in these road trips.

8. Good roads bring prompt medical and veterinary assistance to the home and the farm. Practically all the doctors, veterinarians, and medical aids are located in the cities. The good road, in conjunction with the telephone, brings medical assistance to the rural home in from one-fourth to one-eighth the time it could be had when the farmer had to hitch up and drive a slow farm team to town over a possibly muddy road, and the doctor had to repeat the process to get to the bedside of the one who was suffering. The difference between thirty

minutes and two to four hours, in the case of critical illness, is of great concern. Furthermore, the medical aid is much more likely to be called in the case of both family and animal ailment if these ready means of transportation and communication are available.

9. Good roads increase the visitation of farm families. The almost complete isolation of the farm family during the winter and other bad road seasons is eliminated by the presence of good roads. They can keep up their contacts not only with their neighbors but with the outside world. Since such contacts become matters of habit, the result of keeping them active throughout the year is of double significance.

10. Good roads enlarge the neighborhood. The automobile is about four times as fast as the horse-driven vehicle. A sixteen-mile trip is, in fact, easier made over a hard-surfaced road in an automobile than a four-mile trip is with a horse-driven vehicle over an earth road. This means, so far as time and possibility are concerned, that the neighborhood is enlarged four times its previous size. That is, the area served by a center which radiates four times as far in all directions is an area four times as great as one that radiates only four miles in every direction. Old habits and neighborhood functions, other than visiting, will probably forever keep such a drastic expansion of every-day social contacts from taking place as is indicated by the statement above. It is impossible, however, that a system of transportation and communication with such physical capacity shall not enlarge many of the market, school, church, club, and other social contacts as time goes on.

11. Immediate and constant contact with the outside world is of deepest significance. The rural mail delivery which brings the newspapers of the world and letters from other communities, the habitual contacts with neighbors and townspeople, the increased efficiency of community and neighborhood assemblies, the rural church and Sunday school, with all-year programs, the better school attendance and encouragement of consolidated schools, all serve to raise the tone of rural life in an immeasurable degree. The farmer's children are educated; his class socialized; his neighborhood, state, and

nation feel his influence as a citizen; and slowly, but surely, must all society be benefited by his participation in its cosmopolitan life. The arteries of transportation and communication are the key to his development.

RURAL COMMUNICATION

The Rural Free Delivery.—The Rural Free Delivery of mails is one of the most helpful agencies ever introduced into the life of the nation. Its expansion has been very great and its influence immeasurable. The Congressional appropriation of $40,000, which made possible the establishing of three experimental routes in West Virginia, was made on June 9, 1896. In 1920 the appropriation was $68,000,000, the number of routes was 43,445, the total mileage was 1,151,832, the total patrons 29,891,159, and the pieces of mail handled 3,915,888,854. The following table presents the development in five-year periods. Some portions of the table are not complete due to the fact that the data have never been compiled:

TABLE 8.—DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL FREE DELIVERY IN UNITED STATES[1]

Fiscal Year	Route	Mileage	Number of Patrons	Pieces of Mail Carried
1897	82	Not available	Not available	Not available
1902	8,298	Not available	Not available	Not available
1910	41,097	993,068	Not available	2,723,262,000
1915	43,866	1,076,235	25,433,537	3,657,530,038
1920	43,445	1,151,832	29,891,159	3,915,888,854

The incompleteness of the table makes it impossible to draw statistical conclusions concerning the expansion and influence of the rural mail service. Over three-fifths of the road mileage of the nation is now covered by rural routes. The actual number of patrons is also three-fifths or more of all the persons who live in the open country. During the last twelve years, the pieces of mail handled have increased 1,192,626,854.

[1] Information furnished by Fourth Assistant Post Master General of the United States.

The first twelve years doubtless represented an equal expansion, for the now quite universal daily newspaper was practically unknown and impractical in the country districts before the coming of the rural mail delivery service. Probably the outstanding social and economic results of the coming of the Rural Free Delivery are:

1. It made possible an immediate and constant knowledge of world events. The coming of the daily newspaper is the chief vehicle of such knowledge. A deep appreciation of its significance can be had by comparing the difference in the attitude, interest, and efficiency during the recent World War to what it would have been had our rural districts been robbed of the constant knowledge of what was taking place.

2. It furnished, before the day of the telephone and radio, daily weather and market reports. The universality of the daily paper and the introduction of the telephone have served to eliminate the distribution of weather reports by rural carrier. If the farmer does not use the daily reports of the markets as his direct cue for determining when to sell, it is because telephones and automobiles have made that unnecessary. He has, however, become a student of the market to a very great extent. The results of his market interest, and especially his market knowledge, are sure to bear fruits.

3. Ease of communication by mail serves to retain many human bonds which would otherwise be lost. It is impossible to know what percentage of the increase in pieces of mail handled is personal correspondence. Friends and relatives who are separated find it much easier to retain and keep alive their social bonds when correspondence facilities are good than when they are poor.

4. It furnishes parcel post facilities. The rural mail service furnishes a merchandising agency to the farmer. He can, if he desires, have numerous small articles delivered from town to his mail box. He can readily purchase from mail-order houses. He can market eggs and fruit. He can, by using the telephone, have medicine and drugs delivered by way of the mail. Some interesting marketing has been done

through the Rural Free Delivery. Eggs, butter, fruit, and other small farm articles are delivered to nearby towns. Fruit is often delivered long distances. Farmers buy from mail-order houses, from local merchants, and from other farmers, and have the goods and products delivered by mail. This form of the service has probably just begun its development. The day when the hard-surfaced road is universal will probably see light trucks operating a daily and stupendous parcel post service to and from the rural districts.

5. The Rural Free Delivery has been an agency for road improvement. Road conditions have been made an essential to the establishing of the rural mail service in any community. Undoubtedly the government has been extremely lenient in enforcing its regulations concerning passable roads. The initial influence, however, is always made known, and the rural mail carrier serves as a constant advocate of road improvement. There is no question but that the Rural Free Delivery routes do operate on the better roads and that the community or neighborhood or farmers which refuse to assist in the good road programs are those least accommodated by the service.

6. Rural Free Delivery increases land values. Statistics are not available to prove this assertion but the influence of good roads on land values has previously been mentioned, and we have noted the influence of the Rural Free Delivery on good roads. There is little doubt but that the rural free delivery service is an influence helping to determine the desirability of a farm location, and there is no doubt about the location of the farm having an influence on its value.

The Rural Telephone.—The development of the rural telephone service has been almost as phenomenal as that of the Rural Free Delivery. Just when the first rural telephone line was introduced into the rural districts, it is not possible to say. To say that the whole service is a development of the last twenty-five years is substantially a correct statement. The following table presents the facts concerning the development of service since and including 1907:

TABLE 9.—RURAL TELEPHONES IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

Year	Rural Stations
1907	1,462,800
1912	2,279,800
1917	2,787,500
1920	3,156,900

This table presents the information for the total number of telephones in the rural homes of the United States. The census reports about 500,000 less than this, (2,498,035). The census report is for number of homes having telephones. The table gives total telephones, including homes that have more than one telephone, of which there are many. The following is a quotation from a letter from the chief statistician of the American Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company, and refers to the table given:

We determine rural telephone stations on a rate classification basis which enables us to state as "rural" those stations (phones) located in segregated houses served by so-called "farmer lines."

The table shows the number of such Bell Connections and Independent rural stations in the United States as of October 1, of each year. Our table should be increased by approximately 42 per cent if stations (phones) located in all places of less than 2,500 inhabitants were to be counted as "rural stations."

The census report shows 38.9 per cent of all farms having telephones. This runs as high as 86.1 per cent in Iowa and as low as 5.7 per cent in South Carolina. There were almost 1,500,000 telephones located in rural homes prior to 1907. In a well-settled and prosperous farming community, the telephone is a universal convenience. Its chief benefits are:

1. It places farmers in contact with each other in matters of business, protection, social organization, and visitation. By means of the telephone the farmer can get in almost constant contact with all his neighbors. The "line call" brings a representative of every farm home to the telephone. In

[1] Information furnished by American Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company.

times of accident or fire or the announcement of something which is of concern to the whole neighborhood, all can be notified at one time. The weather report is often given by "central" who first rings the "line call." The calling of neighbors to assist in some harvesting or threshing or marketing function is easy and no time is lost because of a miscalculation. Social and recreational affairs are made surer and no one need be left in doubt about their postponement. All the social institutions—the school, church, lodge, grange, and other agencies—insure their programs by use of the telephone.

2. It places the farmer in touch with professional men of the city. The doctor, the veterinarian, the druggist, the preacher, the editor, and the lawyer all live in the town or city. The farmer can reach them quickly by telephone.

3. It places him in touch with the market. Today the farmer can sell his products over the telephone. He can make a quick adjustment to a fluctuating market because of knowledge he gains by means of the telephone. He can use the telephone in conjunction with the Rural Free Delivery as a marketing agency. He can even reach the central markets of the larger cities by long-distance telephone call.

4. The rural telephone encourages rural cooperation. Many rural lines are owned and operated by farmers' cooperative associations. Even where they are not owned by the community, cooperation is necessary to get them established. The constant contacts over these lines stimulate neighborliness on a broader scale than was possible before their introduction. There is some possibility that neighborly visitation is not so frequent because of the substitution of telephone visiting. There are no facts to substantiate such a contention, however, whereas every one will agree that the telephone does keep neighbors in more constant contact with each other, if by no other means than "eavesdropping."

Radios.—The wireless telephone is the most recent invention in communication. Its value to rural communities is incalculable. It is so new and is developing so rapidly that any calculation of its prevalence in rural districts, even if available, would be out of date before the manuscript of this book could

come from the press. At the Third National Radio Conference, held in Chicago, Illinois, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace issued invitations to all agricultural colleges, state departments of agriculture, state bureaus of markets, and farm organizations to attend. Preceding the conference the following statements were made indicating the possible significance and problems in radio broadcasting to agriculture:

1. The quantity, character, arrangement, and time allotment of such agricultural broadcasting material as weather forecasts, crop and market material, agricultural news, agricultural educational material, and entertainment.
2. The development of a national program of agricultural material, taking into consideration all state and local needs, thereby offering the widest distribution of agricultural information.
3. Through proper coordination to obtain the greatest economy and efficiency in handling agricultural material through broadcasting stations and to eliminate duplication of effort.
4. The development of suitable time schedules for radio broadcasting materials to meet agricultural needs and the division of time schedules among broadcasting stations.

A survey made by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1924 showed an increase of farm radios from 1923 to 1924 of from 145,000 to 370,000. In 1924 the Illinois Agricultural Association attempted to discover the number of farm radios in that state. It calculated that from 7 to 10 per cent of all farmers' homes of the state were equipped with receiving sets. In seventy-four counties there were 21,045 sets. One county in the vicinity of St. Louis had 2,550 sets in farm houses.[1]

The radio while not yet developed so that messages can be both received and transmitted and thus not as apt a means as some other types of communication, such as the telephone, will within the next few years be a part of the communication equipment of a million American farm homes.

The benefits of the radio on the farm are:

1. It furnishes weather and market reports daily. These are both of great importance to the farmer.

[1] Farm publication of the Illinois Agricultural Association, Chicago, Illinois.

2. It furnishes the best musical talent of the world to the farm home.

3. News of the world, of all kinds, can be received immediately after or even during the transpiring of events.

4. Agricultural extension education can be furnished directly from the agricultural college to the farm home, and all other types of education can be promoted in the same way. Colleges of agriculture and other educational institutions are already giving college courses for credit over the radio.

5. It will relieve farm isolation in many subtle ways. While face-to-face contacts are not obtainable over the radio, the constant acquaintance with world events, and the consciousness that the farm family is being served by the best talent of the world has the effect of making farm people feel at home in world and social affairs.

6. State and national farm organizations, such as the Farm Bureau and Grange can use the radio to keep their members informed about the organizations' activities and programs, and, like the college of agriculture, can participate in the wider educational and entertainment programs for farm people. In one state there are over 200 grange halls. Each of these is a potential receiving station where the farm neighborhood can assemble for entertainment and instruction over the radio.

7. When the transmission of photographs by wireless is perfected, even moving pictures and other visual displays will be made universal by radio.

Newspapers.—It is quite impossible to measure the influence of the newspaper in rural life. No one knows just how many papers circulate in the rural districts nor can the subtle influence of such circulation be calculated. Daily papers have come into the rural sections by the millions since the inauguration of the Rural Free Delivery. Agricultural papers have increased their circulation tremendously in the last few years. A number of farm papers have circulation of nearly 1,000,000 per issue. County weeklies go to the rural homes by the millions. Magazines of all kinds are read widely. The following list presents a few conspicuous cases

found in one rural community. This list of conspicuous cases could be multiplied hundreds, or even thousands, of times in the numerous rural communities of the nation.

List of Conspicuous Cases taken from a Study of the Amount of Reading Material in Farm Homes.[1]

Owner: 1,000 books, 2 dailies, 2 weeklies, 2 farm, 3 religious, 4 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Owner: 1,001 books, 3 dailies, 2 weeklies, 3 farm, 1 religious, 3 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Owner: 1,200 books, 5 dailies, 0 weeklies, 3 farm, 1 religious, 5 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Owner: 1,000 books, 2 dailies, 0 weeklies, 3 farm, 0 religious, 6 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Owner: 1,000 books, 5 dailies, 1 weekly, 3 farm, 0 religious, 10 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Tenant: 500 books, 2 dailies, 1 weekly, 3 farm, 0 religious, 1 magazine, no bulletins.
Tenant: 500 books, 2 dailies, 4 weeklies, 3 farm, 2 religious, 1 magazine, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Tenant: 500 books, 1 daily, 2 weeklies, 1 farm, 1 religious, 1 magazine, no bulletins.
Tenant: 250 books, 4 dailies, 4 weeklies, 4 farm, 1 religious, 5 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*
Tenant: 250 books, 2 dailies, 2 weeklies, 3 farm, 1 religious, 4 magazines, receives *Agricultural Bulletin.*

The United States Department of Agriculture circulated 13,000,000 agricultural bulletins during 1918. The colleges and state departments of agriculture probably circulated an equal number. All these publications are means of communication. Some of them deal only with the technical phases of farming. Others, however, serve as communicating media between the world events and the rural districts. Altogether their influence is immeasurable.

Visitation, Community Gathering, and Trips to Town.—The assertion is often made that the old-fashioned country gathering and even the old-fashioned country visiting is a thing of the past. There is a good bit of evidence to give weight to such an assertion. Barn raisings, log rollings, husking bees, and sewing bees are largely a thing of the past because of the elimination of these processes themselves or because of their having been taken over by factory methods,

[1] From *A Social Survey of the Columbia Trade Area,* Boone County, Missouri, (unpublished).

machines, or professional men. The number of community churches, consolidated schools, grange halls, and community buildings is increasing, however, and the result is a regaining of communal gatherings in the rural districts. A report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Ohio in 1916 showed that community and neighborhood gatherings were eleven times as frequent the year after the establishing of the consolidated schools as they were the year before.

Real family visiting is a phenomenon of the countryside alone. It is significant in terms of intellectual as well as social contacts and it is not to be overlooked. In a survey of 306 farm families in Boone County, Missouri, it was found that there were five families who said they never visited their neighbors, and forty-two families who said they did not visit neighbors more than four times per year. On the other hand there were forty-three families who said they visited neighbors on the average of twice per week, and seventeen families who said they visited neighbors daily. There were almost exactly the same number who called as often as once per week as there were who called less frequently than that. In four different Missouri surveys, it was found that farmers averaged one trip to town per week. In the Ashland Community, Howard County, 40 per cent of the families said they had visited beyond the limit of their own community, and six of them had taken trips of over 100 miles in length within a year's time. In the Columbia Community, Boone County, Missouri, 90 per cent of the families said they regularly attended social gatherings of the neighborhood, community, or county.

Automobiles.—The automobile is today the chief agency of communication. Community gatherings of all kinds, frequent trips to town, and other visitation are practically all made by means of the automobile, and made more frequently than before it came. It is now a normal condition on Saturday night at Iowa county seats to find 1,000 automobiles parked for blocks about, and near the town square. The county fair and the Chautauqua are seas of automobiles. The old-fashioned "hitching racks" are forbidden by city ordinance. The horse,

for pleasure trips in prosperous rural sections, is practically a thing of the past. A rural church gathering with a ratio of 20 automobiles to 1 horse-driven vehicle is a common sight in thousands of rural communities today. There are today 20,000,000 automobiles in the United States. It is a mistake to assume that the farmers are not strongly represented among the automobile owners.

The motor truck has come to be employed as the most practical method of taking farm products to market in many communities. By means of its use, the farmer can deliver his products to the market in less time, which is of immense significance in fruit and vegetable marketing. It not only saves time but saves farm horses, which are not well suited to road work. It gives the farmer a choice between local markets, which was not possible when slower means of transportation had to be used. In a survey of the experience of 831 corn-belt farmers, it was found that a little over one-fourth of them had changed their market centers. The owners of these trucks calculated that they used their trucks in field or road work 112 days per year and traveled an average of 2,777 miles during the year. F. W. Fenn, secretary of the National Motor Truck Committee of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, stated in the *Breeders' Gazette* in August, 1921, that during the previous year 6,000,000 cattle, hogs, and sheep were transported directly from the farm to such central markets as St. Louis, Omaha, St. Joseph, and Chicago, without the use of railroads at all. This is vastly different from the day when hundreds of thousands of these farm animals were driven on foot, sometimes hundreds of miles from the Texas ranges, to central markets.

The use of the automobile depends on good roads and is therefore conditioned by one of the other agencies of communication. It in turn conditions many of the other facts and agencies of communication in rural districts. Its influence may be summarized as follows:

1. It is the chief stimulus to road building and road improvement.

2. It ties the country and town together and makes of them one integral community.

3. It makes possible business and social gatherings.

4. It enlarges the community. In doing so it is incidentally slowly eliminating many of the smaller social and business centers of isolated sections.

5. It makes all rural affairs more "up to date." Entertainments no longer have to be stereotyped and simple because of talent being restricted to a small group. The audiences are assured because of the good roads and automobiles. The amount of energy required to attend such occasions is much less because of the ease and quickness of the automobile trip.

6. The farmer has a different social status because of the automobile, although the presence of a few people in rural communities who cannot afford automobiles may serve to set up slight caste relationships within local neighborhoods. The fact that the farmer can own a powerful, beautiful, and high-priced automobile gives him and his family a standing in the eyes of town people which it was never his pleasure to hold until the coming of the automobile era.

Isolation, the greatest handicap in farm life, is being dispelled at a rapid rate. The inaccessibility of the average farm home to the remainder of the community and even the rest of the world is pretty much a thing of the past. There are out-of-way places yet to be reached by modern means of transportation and communication, but these will be more quickly penetrated than a few years ago any one imagined. The general effect of these increased contacts will do more to help solve all rural social and economic problems than any other thing that is happening in rural life. For education is a matter of contacts, and education or learning will make farmers cognizant of problems, and next teach them the solution.

A discussion of the psychological influence of isolation and increased contact will be presented in Chap. XXI.

SELECTED COLLATERAL SOURCE MATERIALS

Farmers' Bulletin No. 1201, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PROBLEM OF TENANCY AND OWNERSHIP

THE PREVALENCE OF FARM TENANCY IN THE UNITED STATES

The Significance of Tenancy in Rural Life.—The question of who owns our American farms is, of course, a part of the general land problem. It is also a problem in agricultural economics and in national economy. But a more important aspect of the tenancy and ownership problem than either of these is its sociological aspect. It is conceivable that scientific production and farm management might gain more under capitalistic or corporation farming than under a system of small individual holdings. It is conceivable that the ratio of "out put" to "in go" might be much better per acre of land unit, labor unit, or capital unit under a system of great capital holdings. It is quite inconceivable that the American farmer would be as good a citizen, especially as efficient a citizen; that he would take as great pride in, and get as much pleasure out of his home; that he would develop as good a community for himself and his neighbors, or a civilization such as we desire in our democratic form of society, as he could and would if he owned the house in which he lives and the land which he farms. It is the problem of life on the farm, the development of rural communities and the building of rural civilization that we are, after all, most concerned with.

The problem of farm tenancy is of the same species in many respects as the wage problem and the slum problem in the cities. It has attached to it all the fallacies that go with ideas about the unfortunate classes everywhere. It is passed over by many with the easy comment that "some people are simply that calibre and nothing else can be expected of them," and by others with the comment that wise and economic farming demands, on our farms, a proportion of operators in the tenant stage serving a sort of apprenticeship. Even a greater

number of persons do not even know of the prevalence of farm tenancy, or are easily satisfied with the knowledge that a larger proportion of rural families own their homes than is the case with city dwellers. To those who are sincerely and intelligently concerned about American rural civilization, none of these attitude are satisfactory. Such persons are concerned with the type of homes, social institutions, and communities that exist in rural life. They are convinced that any system of farm tenure which tends to breed rural slums, and handicap human beings who are born and reared on the farm is unsatisfactory and is, therefore, a matter of national concern and a problem for rural statesmanship. That tenancy does handicap rural community life and individual life on the farm, and that it would be better if home ownership were universal, few, if any, students of rural social life will deny. In the face of this conviction, however, the proportion of landless farmers is increasing with every year of our national life.

The Increase in Farm Tenancy in the United States.—Society discovered from the census of 1880 that slightly over one-fourth (25.6 per cent) of our farms were operated by men who did not own them. Since that time tenancy has increased, though at a varying rate, from decade to decade. By 1890, it included 28.4 per cent of all farm operators. Between 1890 and 1900, it jumped to 35.3 per cent. In the next decade it increased to 37.0 per cent. In 1920, it went to 38.1 per cent, and in 1925 it included 38.6 per cent of all farms operated in the United States.

In 1925, there were 2,462,528 farm tenants in the United States. If we will keep in mind the influence of tenancy upon the farm family's standard of living, which was depicted in Chap. VI, and if we will keep in mind the great mass of farm families who do not own their homes, when we discuss the sociological consequences of tenancy, in this chapter, we will begin to recognize the significance of tenant farming in its social aspects.

It would appear that the rate of tenancy increase is rapidly slowing down because the percentage increase in each of the last two decades has been only about one-half of the per-

centage increase for the decade between 1890 and 1900. Dr. L. C. Stewart warns against any such false interpretation of the facts. It is true that the increase, from decade to decade, in the number of tenant farms, since 1900, has not been as great as in the two decades just preceding 1900. Measured, however, on the basis of acreage and value of farm lands and value of buildings, under the guidance and direction of landless farmers, the situation looks different. The number of rented acres per thousand and the number of dollars' worth of rented land per thousand were not only higher than that shown on the basis of farm units, but have been growing at much faster rates during both of the decades since 1900, especially in the decade between 1910 and 1920, than they did during the decade just before 1900. The proportion of rented farms increased less than 3 per cent between 1910 and 1920, but the proportion of leased property values and leased acreage increased 11 per cent. On this basis lessees, in 1920, operated 44 per cent of the improved acreage and 46 per cent of the value of land alone in the United States. Over one-half of the acreage of all farm land was leased in two states—Delaware and Illinois—both in 1910 and 1920. If improved land alone is considered, ten more states must be added to the list of states having over one-half of their active land farmed by tenants—Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Washington. Dr. Stewart concludes his report with the statement that "the tide of tenancy is shown by the latest census (1920) to have continued its upward flow with little or no abatement." The following abridged table is taken from his report:[1]

It is apparent from the facts presented in this table, that any economic and social problems that arise out of a system of tenant farming, are sure to develop to greater magnitude with the continued increase in the number of persons who are becoming farm tenants and the greater proportion of farm enterprise that is coming under their direction.

[1] STEWART, L. C., *Mimeographed Report* from the Division of Land Economics, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture 1922.

TABLE 10.—PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN LESSEE FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1920

Geographic Division	Valuation			
	Farms	Land	Buildings	Total
United States	7.9	23.2	20.5	29.2
New England	1.4	7.1	13.2	
Middle Atlantic	15.9	13.8	15.4	27.2
East North Central	7.2	24.8	17.4	11.2
West North Central	15.6	31.0	34.7	13.5
South Atlantic	5.5	16.7	16.3	.6
East South Central	3.2	10.9	21.0	8.7
West South Central	7.7	34.3	14.6	4.1
Mountain	25.3	36.6	35.7	15.6
Pacific	1.8	7.2	3.4	2.2

From the social point of view the number of persons involved in tenancy is more important than the number of acres or the amount of farm property under their control. The percentage of the latter has not increased greatly since 1880. This slowing down in the relative loss of farm owners and relatively less increase in farm tenants does not obviate the fact that millions of men, women, and children are living under conditions which prevail in tenant communities, which conditions place them on a lower standard of living than that of farm-owner families and on a lower plane of living than is desired if we expect to build an adequate and satisfactory rural civilization in America. Furthermore, the absolute number of tenant families in the United States has increased from 1,024,601 in 1880 to 2,454,804 in 1920.

THE CAUSE OF FARM TENANCY

Tenancy Is a Natural Step in Acquiring Farm Ownership. —The most fundamental cause of increase of tenancy in the United States is to be found in the fact that tenancy, which is often a stepping stone to ownership, has gradually played a greater and greater rôle in the acquirement of land in the

United States. The passage from non-ownership to ownership by way of a protracted period of tenant farming is becoming ever more necessary. With the public domain practically exhausted, with inheritance playing the small part in land holdings that it does in the United States, and with no adequate credit facilities for land purchase, the beginning farmer has generally left but one means of attaining ownership, namely, to climb the "agricultural ladder," one rung of which is tenancy. Landed estates have never been a big factor in American farming, though they are becoming more prevalent. Inheritance and gifts as means of attaining ownership, therefore, have always been minor factors in land acquirement in this country. The period of homesteading has practically passed. We have reached the limits of our agricultural frontiers and have practically no more "free lands." A man who now avails himself of the homesteading privilege is generally compelled to expend considerable sums of money on irrigation or drainage in order to make his land productive. Beginning farmers, therefore, quite universally start as tenants.

The Increase in Land Values.—It was scarcely twenty years ago that good land in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Oklahoma, and Texas could be bought from the savings which a tenant, or even a hired man, could accumulate in a few years. In 1900, the average value of the farms in the South Atlantic States was only $1,511, and in the East South Central only $1,324. Today it requires three times that much capital to purchase a farm in these areas. In North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Arkansas it has multiplied four times and in Florida and Texas five times. In Iowa today it requires almost $40,000 to buy and equip a farm. It was not so difficult during the earlier periods of our national history to make the ascent to ownership, with the result that it was very rapid. The beginning farmer remained a tenant but a short time and comparatively few failed rapidly to acquire ownership. Today thousands find the ascent very difficult. The result is that an ever increasing number get stalled in the

tenant stage and remain there through life. The men of this generation who are thus stalled pass on no inheritance of land ownership to their children. The result is that what was once a stream of beginning farmers steadily moving into home ownership is now pretty much a group of congenital tenants.

The following table shows the increase in the amount of capital required in 1920 over what was necessary in 1850 to own and equip a farm unit in the various geographic areas in the United States:

TABLE 11.—AVERAGE VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY, OR THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL REQUIRED TO PURCHASE AND EQUIP A FARM[1]

Geographic Divisions	Value of Farm Units			
	1920	1900	1870	1850
United States	$12,084	$3,563	$3,363	$2,596
New England	7,492	3,333	3,135	2,596
Middle Atlantic	9,290	4,759	5,657	3,880
East North Central	15,898	5,004	4,057	2,189
West North Central	25,517	5,488	2,802	1,568
South Atlantic	5,292	1,511	1,980	2,845
East South Central	4,203	1,324	1,897	2,211
West South Central	7,652	2,146	1,449	3,485
Mountain	16,727	5,934	1,421	892
Pacific	22,664	7,864	6,428	6,010

This table is of particular significance because it shows the total average value of farm units and, of course, it is the farm as a unit which the tenant must purchase. In Oklahoma, the land values increased two and one-half times, while tenancy increased 8.9 per cent. In Georgia the land values doubled and tenancy increased 5.8 per cent. In Nebraska the land values increased three and one-half times and tenancy increased 5.3 per cent. The increase for the nation during this decade was only 1.7 per cent.

There are 288 counties in the twelve chief cotton-producing states whose land values in 1920 exceeded the average for their respective states by as much as 25 per cent. In every

[1] Includes land, buildings, implements, machinery, and livestock. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. V, p. 56.

TABLE 12.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INCREASING LAND VALUES AND INCREASING TENANCY[1]

Typical State in Each Division	Average Value Per Farm		Percentage of Farms Operated by Tenants	
	1910	1900	1910	1900
New England				
Vermont	$ 1,785	$1,384	12.3	14.5
Massachusetts	2,859	2,305	8.1	9.6
Middle Atlantic				
New York	3,283	2,431	19.8	23.9
Pennsylvania	2,875	2,566	23.3	26.0
East North Central				
Illinois	12,270	5,732	41.5	39.3
Wisconsin	5,148	3,123	13.9	13.5
West North Central				
Iowa	12,910	5,497	37.9	34.9
Nebraska	12,450	4,004	38.1	32.8
South Atlantic				
South Carolina	1,523	642	63.1	61.1
Georgia	1,274	616	65.6	59.8
East South Central				
Tennessee	1,510	889	41.1	40.6
Mississippi	926	520	66.2	62.4
West South Central				
Oklahoma	3,414	1,838	54.7	43.8
Texas	3,909	1,680	52.6	49.7
Mountain				
Colorado	7,858	3,658	18.1	22.6
Utah	4,590	2,080	7.9	8.8
Pacific				
Washington	9,208	2,991	15.1	17.8
California	14,935	8,691	20.6	23.1

[1]BIZZELL, W. B., *Farm Tenancy in the United States*, p. 157; Adapted from Table 31, pp. 22 and 82; 122-127 of *Census*, Vol. V, *Bulletin* No. 278, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, A & M College, College Station, Texas.

case the tenancy rate exceeded the state average, varying from 1 to 31 per cent excess. The same tendency is apparent in every state in the United States.

It was the discovery of the relationship between prosperous farming sections and increasing tenancy which began to give many students of the situation much concern a few years ago. Nor is that concern to be belittled. This is only an attempt to explain the basis of it. A corollary with the fact, and resulting from the same cause to a degree, is the loss of rural population, partly due to the moving of young farmers to areas of lower land values in order that they may escape a long stage of tenant farming. This, of course, adds a farm owner in the low-value area and sometimes leaves a tenant in the high-value area. Such a move on the part of the young farmer is justified when it takes, on the average, from six to eight years longer to accumulate enough capital to make the first payment necessary to ownership now than it did twenty years ago. The farmers of Iowa made their first payment toward farm ownership in 1890 at the average age of twenty-eight. They made this first payment in 1915 at thirty-four years of age.[1] This is just another way of saying that young farm owners of 1915 had been tenants or hired men, on the average, six years longer than they had in 1890. This slowing up of the great army of young farmers in its march toward ownership is directly due to high land values. It necessarily concentrates a greater number of them at the point of tenant operation and thus increases the percentage of tenant operated farms. This fact is questioned by some students of the so-called "agricultural ladder," [2] but every survey which has been made of farmers who attained their ownership of land by other methods than inheritance, gifts, or marriage, bears out the fact that men who work their way into land ownership are arriving at proprietorship at a later stage in life.

The following table of typical states from the various geo-

[1] Lloyd, O. G., "Farm Leases in Iowa," *Bulletin* No. 159, p. 171, Iowa Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture, Ames, Iowa, 1915.

[2] *United States Department of Agriculture, Separate Form Yearbook, 1923,* No. 897, p. 50.

graphic areas of the nation demonstrates the relationship between increasing land values and increasing tenancy:

TABLE 13.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INCREASING LAND VALUES AND INCREASING TENANCY

State	Average Value Per Acre Farm Land	Average Rate of Tenancy	Number of Counties with Rate Above Average	Number of Counties with Tenancy Rate Above Average; Land Values Above Average
Arkansas	$ 34.82	51.3	20	2
Illinois	164.20	42.7	38	8
Iowa	199.52	41.7	32	14
Kansas	54.50	40.0	27	13
South Carolina	52.08	64.5	15	13

Land Development Schemes and Types of Farm Organization Requiring Large Outlays of Capital.—Today, in addition to a widespread appearance of tenancy, we have typical tenant sections, that is, sections of the country in which the type of tenure is predominantly that of renting or cropping, or of resident hired men. The most noted of these areas are in the South where the old slave plantations have been transformed into cropping systems. There are twenty-two counties in Mississippi in which 75 per cent of all the farms are tenant farmed and nine counties in that state with over 90 per cent of all farmers who are tenants. Georgia has forty-seven counties with over 75 per cent of all farms operated by tenants. Practically all other cotton states have counties with similar tenant percentages. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these old plantation areas, still operated by Negro croppers, hired men, or tenants, are the only typical tenant sections of the country. There are some new and developing areas in which a few great capitalist holders still own prac-

tically all of the land and farm it by either a hired-man, cropper or tenant system. Such a section is the "so-called Southeast Missouri section," where a great amount of capital has been required to drain swamp lands. In an area in this section, studied by the author and colleagues, there were 48,232 acres included in farms. Eleven owners own 36,640 acres in the area. One owner participates in the ownership of 31,000 acres. These large estates have been developing for less than two generations. The big development project of drainage has developed these large holdings and with them a high rate of tenancy. Since 1900, the number of farm families in these two counties has tripled. Practically the whole increase has been among the tenant class.

TABLE 14.—PER CENT OF OWNER AND TENANT FARMS IN THE SIKESTON, SOUTHEAST MISSOURI, COMMUNITY[1]

Year	Owner	Tenant
1880	55.89	44.11
1890	45.16	54.84
1900	38.35	61.65
1910	28.95	71.05
1920	30.39	69.61

We noted that the era has just recently passed when men could make the necessary first payment on a farm out of sums earned and saved as hired laborers. It is not that hired men on the farm are not as well paid, even better paid, today than they were two or three decades ago, but that the first payment of the land that sells from $75 to $400 per acre demands so much capital that few, if any, hired men can make the direct step from "hired man" to ownership. The result is, they must pass through the stage of tenancy if they expect to attain ownership.

In the newly developing areas in which large capital investments are necessary for clearing, draining, or irrigating the land, two factors operate to make ownership by small

[1] TAYLOR, CARL C., YODER, F. R., and ZIMMERMAN, C. C., *A Social Study of Farm Tenancy in Southeast Missouri* (unpublished).

holders difficult. The first is that the reclamation projects are most easily carried forward as large-scale enterprises, and the second is that the land must necessarily sell at high price after it is reclaimed, in order to cover the cost of reclamation. The man with little capital cannot drain, irrigate, or even clear a farm for himself, nor is he able to purchase it after it is reclaimed by others. He, therefore, rents. Furthermore, it is in the areas of high and rapidly increasing land values that men can and do retire from their farms. Many of them do not care to sell, even if tenants or others wish to buy.

Increase in Landed Estates and Retired Farmers.—Another possible cause of increase in tenancy in the United States may be the greater number of landed estates. Certain of our farming sections have been under cultivation for a number of generations. Each generation passes on to the next some inheritance by way of ownership in land. Many times, however, there intervenes a period between the time that the son takes over the farm and the transfer of the deed, in which he rents the land from his father. He is in a vastly different position to both farm and owner than is the unrelated tenant but he is listed as a tenant for the time being and so increases the number of tenant operators. To just what extent this process is operating to increase tenancy it is impossible to state. Needless to say, if the previous owner had sold his farm when he was no longer able to operate it himself, there would not have intervened the period of tenant operation. The New England farms are now being farmed by about the sixth generation of operators, and the Central River Valley farms by about the third generation. Men whose fathers started at the bottom are now inheriting the earnings of those pioneer fathers. These sons may be in a more advantageous position in relation to ultimate ownership than were their fathers though they are listed, temporarily, as tenants. Their fathers were never tenants because of having homesteaded or bought land when it was cheap.

Another phase of the problem of landed estates is that of the plantation system of the South. These landed estates were at one time farmed by big planters who used slave labor.

Today, and for that matter ever since the Civil War, these estates have been farmed in large part by renters and croppers. This transfer from owner operation to tenant operation has had nothing to do with the increase in tenancy since 1880 but was probably the greatest single cause of the increase previous to that time. At least the highest percentage of tenancy lay in the very districts where the plantation and slave system was at one time practiced. The same type of process is going on to some degree today in those sections where great ranges are being broken up and turned into cultivation.

It is rather difficult to state facts which will hold true for all farms which are tenant operated. Of course there is a vast difference between tenants. There is a vast difference between that type of tenancy which exists where men are passing steadily up the agricultural ladder toward ownership and spend but a few years as tenants, and that type of tenancy where few ever aspire to and much less ever attain ownership of land. There are, however, differences between tenant operation and owner operation of farms which are practically inherent in a tenant system no matter where or under what circumstances it is found. There are causes of farm tenancy that are broadly true for all types of tenants and there are results of a tenant system that are true everywhere.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF TENANT FARMING

Poorly Balanced Agriculture.—The tenant farmer almost universally crops the land harder than the owner. The modern owner operator has ceased to follow the pure cropping methods because it doesn't pay. The tenant continues to follow it because it is about the only system he can make pay. He hasn't the capital to purchase the overhead equipment to do livestock farming. Even if he does have the capital, the farm is not always equipped for it. If the farm upon which he lives this year is equipped maybe the one to which he will move next year will not be thus equipped and he will be compelled to reduce the size of his herds and flocks at a great disadvantage to himself. His lack of purchasing power and

capital holdings gives him poor credit standing. He needs quick and sure money. Field crops give him this money, and more quickly than does livestock. He can come nearer pushing the farm to its immediate limit of production by cropping than he can by stock farming and since he has little or no interest in the farm as a physical unit of production but a great interest in it as a unit of economic production, he will choose that system of farming which suits his individual needs best, unless forbidden to do so by a specific rent contract. He, therefore, mines the soil and thus injures the land for all time. Nor is he individually to be blamed for doing so. He must do this very thing if he ever expects to raise himself out of the class of tenants into that of ownership.

The areas in which single crops furnish the cash income from farms are the very areas in which high rates of tenancy maintain. The two outstanding illustrations of this fact are the cotton belt and the corn belt. Bizzell presents a table of statistics which shows that in the ten leading cotton-producing states the proportion of improved lands farmed by tenants is almost in direct ratio to the number of bales of cotton the states produce.[1] It is a notorious fact that the economic base of agriculture has been damaged by such cropping and that the crying need is for more livestock on southern farms. A survey of a high-class and diversified farming area in Missouri showed that 17.4 per cent of the tenants had no more than two kinds of livestock on their farms, and 35.4 per cent had only three kinds of livestock. In this community, 57.6 per cent of owners had four and five kinds of livestock on their farms.[2] In this and other surveys of the same general sections, it was found that the owners had about one fourth more livestock per acre than the tenants.

In a recent survey of over 1,000 farms in North Carolina it was found that tenants had just a little over one-half as many animals per cultivated crop acre as the owners have. The deficiency in animals has been discovered in every com-

[1] Bizzell, W. B., *"Farm Tenancy in the United States,"* Bul. No. 278, Texas Agricultural Experimental Station, A. & M. College, Texas.

[2] Taylor, Carl C., *A Social Survey of the Columbia Trade Area, Boone County, Missouri* (unpublished).

parative study that has been made of owners and tenants living in the same agricultural locality.

Depletes Soil Fertility.—Too many crops, too few animals, failure to practice crop rotation, and the absence of improvement crops serve consistently to deplete the fertility of the soil. The presence of a goodly number of animals on the farm furnishes manure for fertilizers, demands that a larger portion of the farm be devoted to pasture and forage crops, and keeps a much greater per cent of the "*ruffage*" on the farm. The practice of diversified farming works on the conscious plan of using those crops which supplement each other in conserving and constructing soil fertility. Improvement crops are used to restore to the soil those elements of fertility which other crops have depleted, and to put into the soil those elements which will furnish the base for future production. Tenants find it more to their advantage not to practice any of these things than to practice them. They are often not on any given farm long enough to follow out a definite crop rotation and get the results, therefore, that crop is chosen that pays best for the given year. They are not on one farm long enough to get the ultimate value of improvement crops, therefore, they fail to plant them. The results of such practices are best seen in those areas and on those farms which have been farmed by tenants over long periods of time. In a survey of over 1,000 farms in North Carolina, it was discovered that the Negro croppers of the cotton and tobacco belt were utilizing 99.6 per cent of the land for the growing of soil depleting crops.[1]

The Tenant Being a Poor Man Affects Both Agriculture and Community Life.—The enterprise of farming demands capital and long-time planning to make it pay. The tenant does not have either capital or credit with which to farm profitably. He has to take short cuts to dividends. He does those things which pay best for the time being and lets other things go undone. This practice has had bad effects not only on soil

[1] Taylor, Carl C., and Zimmerman, C. C., "Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers," *Bulletin,* of North Carolina State College of Agriculture, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1922.

fertility and farm profits but upon community life as well. He cannot educate his children, supply comforts and conveniences for his home, or support community enterprises to the extent that the more wealthy and prosperous farm owners do.

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF TENANCY

A Comparatively Low Standard of Living.—Every factor which constitutes a standard of social efficiency in individual, home, or community life is jeopardized by tenant farming. In the first place, the tenant family does not own the house in which it lives. This one fact alone is of deepest significance not only to the family so conditioned but to the community and the nation. Lack of home ownership offers little incentive for home improvement. The tenant cannot afford to invest money in the improvement of property that is not his own, especially when he is not sure of his tenure. The landlord never expects to live in the tenant house and he, therefore, has little interest in its improvement beyond what will increase the rental value of the farm. The result is that tenants almost universally live in poorer houses than do farm owners of the same community.

In the Columbia, Missouri, Trade Area, 65.7 per cent of the houses in which tenants live are over thirty years old. In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community, 31.0 per cent of the croppers live in either one- or two-room houses. The average size of these share-croppers' families in the Sikeston Community was a little more than three persons. This means that in 31 per cent of their homes there was but two-thirds of a room per person. For the whole share-cropper group in the community the average was one and one-tenth persons per room. The standard for good housing is one and one-half rooms per person. In this same community the tenant families had two and one-fourth persons per bedroom. The croppers had two and fifty-two one-hundredths persons and the hired men three and one-tenth persons per bedroom. An adequate housing standard permits but one and one-half persons per bedroom as an average. Only 32.2 per cent of the hired men

had clothes closets in their homes; 7.8 per cent of the hired men had no porches; 45.5 per cent of the tenant yards had no grass plot; and 94.1 per cent had no trees in the yard. This community is not representative of the better tenant sections of the nation. It is representative of a typical tenant area and shows how little we can expect adequate housing under a system of tenant farming.

In North Carolina, it is calculated that one-fifth of the landless families live in one- or two-room shacks. A similar condition prevails throughout the whole Southern tenant area. The difference between tenant and owner houses is not so marked in other sections of the country and yet the lack of incentive for home improvement on the part of both landlord and tenant is present wherever tenancy exists, and its effects are generally clearly evident within each separate community.

Houses furnish the dominant physical environment of over one-half of the farm population, the women and children, practically all of the time, and of all the farm population for part of the time. If the house is old and poorly built; the yard space and room space inadequate; the heating, lighting and arrangement poor; then life, health and happiness are handicapped for those who live there. Tenants universally suffer these handicaps in greater degree than owners of the same communities do.

Even more important than the house are household equipment and conveniences, for they constitute the work technologies of farm women and dictate the organization of farm family life. In the Sikeston Survey the yards were measured by six points of merit: grass plot, trees, shrubs, flowers, yard walks, and yard fences. A normal score would show at least 5 out of 6, and a good score would show all of them. The average cropper's home scored 2.08; the average tenant's home 3.46; and the average hired man's home 2.13. The owner-operator homes of this same community scored an average of 4.85 of these points of merit per yard. The following table gives the information on household conveniences for the same community. The absence of conveniences runs in direct proportion to low-tenure status. This is a community which is

TABLE 15.—PER CENTS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF TENURE HOMES HAVING HOUSEHOLD CONVENIENCES

Convenience	Owner	Tenant	Cropper	Hired Man
Inside toilets	17.07	1.66		
Running water in kitchen	17.07	1.11		
Electric or gas lights	19.50	1.66		
Heating plant	12.19			
Oil stove	9.51	23.33	0.00	9.55
Washing machine	36.58	7.77	0.00	1.68
Sewing machine	100.00	94.44	86.20	71.34
Telephone	46.34	26.66	13.90	15.73
Vacuum cleaner	17.07	1.11		
Totals	305.53	157.74	100.00	98.30
Per cent of ideal standard[1]	33.9	17.5	11.1	10.9

predominantly low class because nine-tenths of the homes of the community are not owned by the persons who live in them. That there are some differences existing between tenants and owners everywhere throughout America is indicated by the facts presented in the following table. These data are for Tennessee, North Carolina, Iowa, and Nebraska and are representative for the nation:

TABLE 16.—PERCENTAGE OF HOMES OF OWNERS AND TENANTS PROVIDED WITH CERTAIN HOUSEHOLD CONVENIENCES[2]

Kind of Convenience	2,871 Owners	1,973 Tenants
Running water in houses	19.6	7.4
Bathrooms	18.0	5.7
Indoor toilets	12.9	4.4
Electric or gas lighting systems	17.7	8.0
Central heating systems	8.1	4.1
Refrigeration	20.7	26.7
Oil stove for cooking	41.9	28.8
Vacuum cleaners	11.7	6.7

[1] An ideal standard would place each of these conveniences in every home of the community.

[2] Quoted from United States Department of Agriculture. *Separate Year Book*, 1923, No. 897, p. 582; United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Whether the standard is one of house or home convenience and whether it is an item furnished by tenant or landlord, housing, home organization, and home life are handicapped in tenant families just to the degree that the facts set forth in these tables indicate.

There are effects upon family life which result from tenant farming that are even more significant than any phase of housing. In the North Carolina survey of over 1,000 farm families it was discovered that 89 per cent of the mothers in the tenant families worked in the field. In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community 66.66 per cent of the parents kept their children out of school to hire out away from home. In the Sikeston Community, in 45.15 per cent of the cropper families, the mothers had married as early as fourteen years of age. These people participate so little in any other than home life that they early seek to escape the "humdrum" of their parents' household. In a vast majority of cases they establish similar homes of their own.

The amount of money a family expends on various consumption goods is no measurement of either its happiness or well-being, but a comparison of such expenditures does give some basis for comparing the standards of living of tenants and owner families. These facts were presented in Chap. VI, but should be repeated here in order to emphasize the point under discussion. In practically every survey that has been made of farm family living conditions, it has been found that tenant families have a much smaller budget to expend on their standard of living. Because of this fact, a large per cent of their total family expenditures must and does go to purchase food and clothing. This leaves not only a smaller proportion of their budget to be spent for health, education, religion, recreation, etc., but leaves them a very much lower gross amount to expend for these things. No individual has to do more than review his own points of interests, zest, and happiness to know that this fact constitutes a real menace to well-being and is bound to be a matter of dissatisfaction to any one who is thus situated. No amount of philosophizing by others, that such

must be and that it is economically productive in the nation at large, can obviate this stern psychological fact.

The following series of short tables set forth some items in the restricted standard of living of tenant families as compared to owner families:

TABLE 17.—PER CENT OF FARM OWNER AND TENANT FAMILIES TAKING VARIOUS CLASSES OF PERIODICALS: TEN SURVEYS[1]

	Number of Families	Percentage of All Families Taking:				
		Dailies	Agricultural papers	Weeklies	Magazines	Others
White owners..	1,593	70.8	60.9	59.8	43.2	5.7
White tenants.	1,493	55.1	46.7	29.9	28.8	4.1

TABLE 18.—PER CENT OF OWNERS, TENANTS, AND CROPPERS HAVING AUTOMOBILES, TELEPHONES, AND RURAL FREE DELIVERY[2]

Tenure Class	Automobiles	Telephones	Rural Free Delivery
Share croppers	16.4	20.0	86.0
Share tenants	45.9	47.4	85.0
Owner additional	80.8	69.2	96.0
Owner operator	74.4	59.0	90.5

TABLE 19.—PER CENT OF OWNER AND TENANT FAMILIES ATTENDING RECREATIONAL EVENTS DURING ONE YEAR'S TIME[3]

Class	One Kind of Event	Two Kinds of Events	Three Kinds of Events	Four Kinds of Events	More Than Four Kinds	None
Owners	89.2	81.2	69.2	46.6	26.6	10.8
Tenants	75.1	61.0	41.9	19.8	8.0	24.9

[1] Data from surveys in Ohio, North Carolina, Nebraska, Texas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. United States Department of Agriculture, *Separate From Year Book*, 1923, No. 897, pp. 579-580.

[2] SANDERS, J. T., "Farm Ownership and Tenancy in the Black Prairie of Texas," United States Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin* No. 1068, p. 55, Washington, D. C.

[3] TAYLOR, CARL C. and ZIMMERMAN, C. C., "Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers," *Bulletin* North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1923.

All these items in a family standard of living tell the same story, namely, a story of restricted and handicapped social life among farm-tenant families. Other items in the standard of living might just as well have been used as illustrative material for they all follow the same trend as those presented here.

Poor Social Institutions.—Every phase of institutional life in a community is affected adversely by the prevalence of any large number of tenant families in the community. These landless farm families cannot and do not financially support the social institutions as liberally as owner families do. Moreover, their failure universally to participate in the institutional life of the community handicaps the operation of social institutions even more than does their lack of financial support. Professor Sanders found in the Black Prairie of Texas that the median school grades attained by tenant farmers, their wives, and children were universally lower than those for owners. E. V. White found in this same state that the counties having high tenancy rates had short school terms, comparatively small percentages of enrollment, and poorer daily attendance. The school attainment of the owners, whether fathers, mothers, or children was almost exactly twice what it was for croppers. Among the croppers in medium financial circumstances neither of the parents nor the children, over twenty-one years of age, attained an average school status of fifth grade.[1]

In North Carolina it was found that 31.3 per cent of the landless parents had never attended school, whereas, by this same survey it was found that only 8.2 per cent of the land owners were in this class.[2] Such comparisons as these have been found wherever concrete studies have been made, though, of course, the differences between the two classes of tenure vary widely in different sections of the country.

A tenant population is nearly always a shifting population.

[1] White, E. V. and Davis, E. E., "A Study of Rural Schools in Texas," *University of Texas Extension Series*, No. 62, Austin, Texas, 1914.

[2] Taylor, Carl C. and Zimmerman, C. C., *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1922.

Tenants are poor and so need their children at home. They are often instructed by their landlords not to vote high school taxes. They move their families in the middle of the school year. All of these things jeopardize the education of their children and the education of all other children in the communities where tenant farming exists.

The religious institutions of the community are no less handicapped by tenancy than are educational institutions. In every survey that has been made it is shown that tenants attend religious services less, are less often members of the church, and contribute less to the support of religion than do owners. In the survey of four counties in Northwestern Ohio, it was revealed that while 86.6 per cent of the owners were church members, only 13.4 per cent of the tenants' names were on the church rolls of the community. In a study in Johnson County, Missouri, 40.7 per cent of the owners and only 29.6 per cent of the[1] tenants were church members; and 30.5 per cent of the owners and only 18.5 per cent of the tenants attended Sunday school. The owners contributed two and nine-tenths times as much per person to the support of the church as did the tenants.[2] In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community 71.36 per cent of the owners, 52.56 per cent of the tenants, 35.03 per cent of the hired men, and 23.81 per cent of the croppers attended church. Practically the same ratio maintained in Sunday school attendance. The tenants contributed one-fourth as much to the church support as did the owners, while the croppers contributed only one-fourteenth as much and the hired men contributed one-fifteenth as much as the owners. It must be remembered that hired men and croppers are an established part of the tenancy system in this community and that they constitute about 50 per cent of the population. The natural results are that only one of the country churches had a resident pastor and three of the six rural churches of the community were abandoned or closed.

[1] *Ohio Rural Life Survey,* Northwestern Ohio, pp. 40-42, Department of Church and Country Life, Board of Home Mission Presbyterian Church, New York.

[2] Johnson, O. R., and Ford, W. E., Land Tenure, *Bulletin* No. 212, Missouri Agricultural, Experiment Station, Columbia, Missouri.

There were sixty of these lower-tenure homes of the community which did not have Bibles in their homes. Neither did they have any other type of religious literature.

The fact that the presence of any great number of tenants in a community lowers the home, church, and school life of the community is sufficient evidence that tenancy is a menace to the social life of any community. The evils of tenancy do not stop with their influence upon the major social institutions. Roads, lodges, and recreational and civic organizations are all affected by tenancy. In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community even neighborhood visiting was infrequent among the lower-tenure operators. About 27 per cent of them said they never visited even neighbors of their own tenure class, and about 15 per cent more said they visited neighbors no more frequently than once per month. The average attendance at community gatherings was 12.25 per cent in the case of tenants, 8.73 per cent in the case of hired men, and 7.79 per cent in the case of croppers. The average for the owners was 16.34 per cent. Only 55.5 per cent of the tenants, 3.8 per cent of the hired men, and none of the croppers belonged to civic or fraternal organizations. Over 70 per cent of the owner operators belonged to such organizations. Less than 75 per cent of the members of the lower-tenure groups voted regularly. Over 92 per cent of the owner operators voted regularly. Less than 4 per cent of the croppers and less than 3 per cent of the hired men had ever held any civic office. These were school and church offices equally divided.

Tenants Create Unprogressive Communities.—In the community enterprise that demands voluntary effort tenants are likely to contribute very little. Roads, community recreation, civic buildings, and churches are projects which must be built and maintained by voluntary subscription and work. Few tenants are assured of a sufficiently long tenure in the community to make it individually profitable for them to contribute much to these enterprises. To make a living requires the greater portion of their time and they are very hesitant about allowing their own business to suffer while they assist a community enterprise from which they expect to reap few

benefits. A community which has a large percentage of tenants in its population not only fails to project these community enterprises but fails even to be concerned about them. In the Sikeston survey each head of a family was asked to express an opinion on improvement of schools, churches, roads, cooperative marketing, scientific farming, and higher education. The following table presents a summary of the attitudes demonstrated by the members of the community:

TABLE 20.—OPINIONS REGARDING DEFINITE COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT (IN PERCENTAGES)

Opinion	Owner	Tenant	Cropper	Hired Man
For improvement	87.11	73.81	46.77	46.79
Opposed to improvement	9.06	9.20	28.07	46.79
No opinion regarding improvement	3.83	16.99	25.16	20.55

From this table of over 900 individual opinions, it is seen that 26.19 per cent of the tenants, 53.23 per cent of the croppers, and 53.23 per cent of the hired men were either opposed to or unconcerned about the various items of improvement. That is, among those classes which constituted over 90 per cent of this community there was very little concern about the improvement of those things which contribute directly to community upbuilding.

Hereditary Tenancy.—The study of the life histories of tenants quite universally shows that economic opportunity has been denied them from the beginning of their lives. In the Columbia Trade Area, Boone County, Missouri, it was found that 50.18 per cent of the present owners had received assistance toward ownership. Only 19.58 per cent of the tenants had ever been helped. Over 20 per cent of the tenants were sons of tenants or non-land owners. In the North Carolina survey it was found that 70 per cent of landless farmers are sons of landless men. In the Boone County, Missouri, survey 63 per cent of the present wealth holdings of the owners had either been given them or had been gotten from an increase in land values. Their gifts had come to them at

the average age of thirty-two years. These beginnings in land ownership, furnished them by gifts and inheritance, gave them the opportunities to participate in the profits of advancing land values. Only 20 per cent of the land owners in the Sikeston Community had climbed the agricultural ladder in that community. In the North Carolina survey only 27.8 per cent of the present owners started landless, and 59 per cent of their present wealth holdings was acquired by gift, inheritance, or marriage. Under present conditions of farming and present values of farm lands, it is not only difficult but practically impossible, for men to obtain land ownership without financial assistance. We may, therefore, expect that even more in the future than in the past or present some men will be tenants simply because they do not inherit ownership of land, or wealth in some other form.

When men have been asked why they were tenants rather than owners their replies have been, "the lack of capital to buy a farm," "living on parents, or parents-in-law's farms, which they later expected to inherit," "afraid to risk buying" and "there is more money in renting."[1]

The causes of tenancy, as the causes of failure to own other property, everywhere are complex. Indeed, they are too complex to be explained by the easy-going statements, that, "there are some men who are just that kind," and "they couldn't run farms if they did own them."

We have sufficiently described the economic and social effects of farm tenancy to make it apparent that it is one of the biggest rural problems in America today. Unless it is attacked in some fundamental and drastic way it is destined to be a greater problem than it is now. There may be no patent way out of the ever-growing problem of farm tenancy. There are economic policies, however, which if inaugurated and carried out on state and national scales, can go far in solving the problem. Our difficulty is that we have not yet come to recognize the possibility of a national system of farm tenancy. We have analyzed neither the causes nor the

[1] The writer in three tenancy studies, two in Missouri and one in North Carolina, has asked approximately 1,000 tenants the question to which these replies are answers.

effects, and even where we have made some progress in analysis, the general public has refused to accept the findings because of our prosperity ideals and because in our population there are those who think that it is profitable to have a system of tenant farming. When tenant farmers have come to constitute over 50 per cent of our farm operators, absentee landlordism has developed a little further, and the enlightenment of tenants has grown apace, we will attack our problem and make some progress in solving it.

THE SOLUTION OF THE TENANCY PROBLEM

Tenant Problems Can Be Solved.—If no progress had been made in the direction of solving this difficult problem, it would be audacious to suggest that it is solvable. The difficulty in America is not that we refuse to believe the evidence of attainment in England, Ireland, Denmark, or New Zealand, but that we do not quite realize that tenancy is a problem of any magnitude in the United States. It is yet looked upon in this country as an individual rather than a social problem. The tenant class is not class conscious as it is in England, Ireland, and Denmark. American landlords are not thought of as a class either, due to the fact that so small a proportion of them come into ownership by the inheritance of old family farm estates and because they readily and habitually transfer their wealth holdings from land to other economic enterprises rather than establish a county gentry or overlord system such as grew up in European countries. The almost total absence of either one of these hereditary classes permits us to drift steadily into a system of land tenure, with all the social consequences which we have depicted, without being conscious of the fact that we are evolving a condition which is menacing to good community life in many rural districts and brewing a problem that must and will ultimately come into clear public consciousness.

Upon no theory of human nature except an extreme belief in hereditary human inequalities can we assume that the tenancy problem is insoluble. Denmark is a denial of this

theory. Fifty years ago almost 50 per cent of all Danish farmers were poor, illiterate, plodding tenants. Today the children of this same human stock are home-owning, enlightened, thrifty farmers. This transition did not take place in a day nor has it been solely due by any means to the state aid given to those desiring farm ownership. It has nevertheless taken place in two generations of time and has been accomplished by a people who had for generations been hereditary tenants and who were no more thrifty and enlightened than hundreds of thousands of American farm tenants for whom many express no hope.

Accomplishments of Foreign Countries.—There is no attempt made here to give a complete economic analysis or history of all the land policies and programs by which other nations have assisted men to farm-home ownership. Only a sufficient number of examples are given and sufficient data presented to show that where the tenancy problem has been attacked progress has been made toward its solution.

Denmark by a law of 1875 created land credit banks which received state aid and whose function and purpose it was to assist men to the ownership of small farms. By supplementary laws, passed in 1899, 1904, and 1909 a complete system of state aid to landless men was established. The essence of these laws is to loan nine-tenths of the purchase price of a small farm to farm tenants or agricultural workers who are between twenty-five and fifty years of age and who can prove their merit by the guarantee of two persons. The rate of interest is low (4 per cent) and the payments are so arranged that the debt is liquidated at the end of forty-six and one-half years. Recognizing that the beginning farmer needs money for farm improvement and operating capital, nothing but interest payment is required during the first five years. During the first sixteen years of the present century 8,200 families were assisted to farm ownership. A total of $12,500,000 was advanced to them by the state in loans, all of which will be paid back as these men gain complete proprietorship in their farms. This movement, together with their cooperative credit unions, cooperative marketing associations,

and universal education has made of Denmark a nation of farm owners. It has all been accomplished in a period of about fifty years.

In England no such outstanding results have been accomplished, but considerable has been done to lessen farm tenancy. In the last decade of the nineteenth century England began her attempts to cope with this problem. In 1883, John Rae estimated that not over 5 per cent of the farmers of England owned the land they tilled. In 1895, the Royal Agricultural Commission reported that it was quite impossible for a tenant to become an owner because the interest rates on farm mortgages exceeded the rent charges. In 1900, 86 per cent of all land in crops in England was farmed by tenants. The Small Holdings Act of 1892 and supplementary acts passed in 1908 and 1910 made provision for helping landless men to gain ownership. Under these acts 130,526 individuals were moved into home ownership in six years' time. Since then almost 10,000 applications have been approved under the Soldier Settlement Act.

In Ireland, outstanding success has followed the honest attempt to reduce farm tenancy. The Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903 made transfer of land compulsory under certain conditions. The estate commission was provided with $500,000,000 for financing the transfer of lands and a sum of $60,000,000 was set aside to assist tenants in making the one-fourth cash payment on farms. The Royal Commission was empowered to purchase the land on appraisal and to sell it to tenant occupants on the basis of a 3½ per cent annual payment, 3 per cent to be interest and one-half per cent to liquidate the debt in sixty-eight and one-half years.

In New Zealand, large estates may be taken over, subdivided, and subleased to farmers. Long-term loans are made to settlers for making improvements. A progressive or graduated land tax is levied on large estates. This tax is increased 50 per cent in the case of absentee landlords. Thousands of farmers have been established on the land since these acts went into effect and large estates have been practically eliminated.

In the United States.—No state or national legislation so far reaching as what has just been described has been enacted in the United States. Nevertheless, some attempts have been made to solve the problem. South Dakota and Minnesota each have Rural Credit Bureaus which issue bonds, the receipts of which are used to loan to farmers to purchase land. The South Dakota Bureau has been in operation since 1918 and has made loans to over 11,000 farmers.

California has established two state settlements upon which it has located about 500 farm families and assisted them to ownership. This plan was copied from the Australian system where twenty-two such settlements had been established. The avowed purpose of these settlements was to assist to home ownership families who could make only small payments on land and who needed to be financially assisted in improving and stocking their farms. The Land Settlement Board is authorized to prepare the land for cultivation, construct buildings and other improvements, so as "to render the allotment habitable and productive in advance of or after settlement." The board can also make loans for the purchase of livestock and equipment. Settlers are required to pay at the time of purchase only 5 per cent of the appraised value of the land and 40 per cent of the value of improvements made or to be made. The balance of the purchase price of the land is paid over a period of time that may run for forty years and the balance of the amount due on improvements may be paid over a twenty-year period. These settlements have demonstrated the feasibility of the state assisting poor men to farm ownership by wise financial and agricultural assistance.

Wisconsin, through a Division of Immigration, a plan of licensing land brokers and real estate dealers, and the establishing of Land Mortgage Associations, has provided machinery by which home-seeking farmers can be assured of correct appraisal of agricultural lands, and financial assistance in purchasing, improving, and stocking their farms. The result is that cut-over and drainage areas which require elaborate reclamation costs and which would otherwise be left idle or

converted into large capital estates, farmed by tenants or hired men, are now developing into enterprising home-owning communities.

These few examples from other countries and from some states in the United States are in no sense exhaustive. They have not been discussed either analytically or critically. Neither of these things was the purpose of their brief presentation. They are the outstanding examples of attempts made to solve the farm tenancy problem. In the first place, they indicate a growing consciousness throughout the world of the significance to state and national welfare of a developing tenant class of citizens. They also indicate a considerable degree of success by way of solution of this difficult economic and social problem.

Suggestions for Attacking Farm Tenancy in the United States.—The difference between types of farm tenants is so great that any broad generalization of needed action in their behalf is difficult of application to all types. The cropper of the cotton states, for instance, is often no more than a farm hired hand who receives his wages in a share of the crop he produces. He owns no work animals, no farm machinery, sometimes not even any household furniture and furnishes none of the capital necessary to operate the farm. He is most often financed by the landlord even for his family living expenses. Contrasted with him is the mid-western tenant who has thousands of dollars' worth of livestock, machinery, and household equipment. In many cases he pays a flat cash annual rental and is complete entrepreneur of the farm for the period of his rent contract. He, in many instances, is more wealthy than some landlords in other sections of the country. Between these two extremes vary thousands with different tenure status, generally depending upon their financial worth but to some degree conditioned by the customs of the locality in which they live.

In all studies of specific persons who have been able to rise from tenancy to ownership it has been discovered that their success has been conditioned by the receipt of financial assistance in the forms of inheritance, gift, or by marriage; or

they have been related by blood or marriage to the landlords from whom they rented; or they have attained ownership during the period of low-priced lands. The financial assistance often may have been slight but, coming to the farmer early in his farming career, it gave him a deed to a piece of land the increase in the capital value of which later in life represented a large per cent of his capital worth. In a survey covering 24,000 landlords in twenty-four states it was found that 18.8 per cent of their wealth was acquired by inheritance, gift, marriage, or homesteading.[1] This amount represents a large per cent of their present worth. In thousands of cases it represents "the nest egg" with which they started, which constitutes the differential between them and the men who have never risen into farm ownership and so have never increased their net worth by the universal rise in land values. Reports from about 30,000 farmers representing all sections of the nation indicate that 43 per cent of the present capital worth of farm owners accrued from increase in land values. Obviously, those who received assistance to ownership early in life have profited by forces which were in no way imputable to them and in no way the faults of landless men. These facts, plus the fact that a very small percentage of men who are now tenants have attained ownership and then lost it, indicate that the most important step in assisting men to farm-home ownership is to assist them by some scheme of financing which requires a small initial payment and allows them a long period of time in which to liquidate the remainder of the debt out of the profits of farming. If this is done, they, like the great majority, will accumulate moderate estates out of the gradual, but over long periods of time almost inevitable, increase in land values. Every example we have cited from this or other nations owes its success and value mainly to a plan of this kind.

The comparative success of farm tenants who are related to the landlords whose farms they till, indicates that an interested supervision has much to do with making the tenants

[1] These data are taken from all the studies referred to in this chapter, which touch this point.

ultimate successes. The California and the Australia settlements offer both financial supervision and agricultural counsel to the men they seek to assist to farm ownership. In the United States at the present time, any such state aid and counsel is likely to be looked upon as paternalistic. This type of service, however, is exactly what these men need to hold them up until they can get agricultural and financial footing.

The third suggestion for assisting the men who till the soil to the ownership of it is a progressive land tax. New Zealand has adopted this system of taxation to good effect. If the men who hold large estates or a number of farms but do not themselves farm them or in any sense manage them were compelled to pay a tax which increased with the number of acres they owned or with the increased capital worth of their farm lands it would be an inducement for them to sell to tenant farmers who have considerable capital assets but find no land for sale at its current productive values.

In conclusion it should be again emphasized that no matter what arguments, true or false, are urged in favor of tenant farming, we cannot look with complacency upon the facts that we have over two million tenant farm families in the United States, that their number is increasing every year, and that their standards of living are universally lower than that of farm owners and lower than can be tolerated in a nation whose culture still inheres to a large degree in the type of a rural civilization it can build.

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CHAPTER IX

THE RURAL HOME AND FAMILY

THE FAMILY AS A RURAL INSTITUTION

The Family as a Social Institution—The family is one of our major social institutions. It ranks with, or above, the state, the school, the church, and industry in its significance in carrying on organized social life. Its primary function is to bear children and rear them to manhood and womanhood, physically, mentally, and morally. It supersedes and antedates all the social institutions in its influence upon the life of each individual. In this sense, it is our primary social institution. It is primary in another sense, for practically every general type of human relationship, adjustment, and activity of life is present, and is a necessary part of family life. In the family, both sexes are present, the young and the old are there; the questions of making a living are discussed in the home and each member of the family is likely to be called upon to participate in the discussion and in the solution of these economic problems. Much of education takes place in the home. Religious and practical attitudes are expressed by the adult members of the family and become assimilated in the minds of the children. Courtesy, obedience, loyalty, altruism, team work, manners, ideas, ideals, and ambitions are developed largely in the home. Many times an occupation is learned in the home. Practically every type of question and problem with which the children will, in after years, be concerned is presented, discussed, and, in one way or another, resolved within the family circle.

Children learn in the home to treat persons of their own age and sex with fairness. They learn how to treat persons of the opposite sex and of different ages with both fairness and courtesy. All members of the family learn the need of a

division of labor in the performance of the common tasks. Justice between different members of the family is almost universal. Public opinion prevails, to a large degree, in the family circle. A fair distribution of the economic dividends among the various members of the family is the rule. Solicitude for other members of the family group is not only present in home life, but lasts long after the family is scattered. In short, the family is a training place for life.

It is in the family that the child becomes a participant in the regular and customary practices of society. From the age of two or three years, it is taught what it should and should not do, what it must and must not do. These restrictions are merely the customary relationships to which older members of society have become used, and which they know the child must learn sooner or later. An infant has no notion of other persons' rights, of fairness and justice, or of manners and customs. Persons learn these things gradually, and learn a very large body of them by example and precept, in their long period of home life. The character and personality of a child are thus made in the home, and this development of character and personality is more fundamental than all he may later learn.

Practically all nations recognize the necessity of safeguarding their home and family life. They pass laws penalizing any person who jeopardizes the wholesomeness and survival of family life. Marriage is made legitimate by law. Divorce must be sanctioned by law. The violation of the sex integrity of the home is sometimes punishable by death. The original homestead is often not taxed. The parents are made legally responsible for the acts of their children until they have reached their majority. The sanctity of the home is guarded and guaranteed by the state and nation, in order that the contributions of the home to society may be assured. Neither the integrity, wholesomeness, nor contributions of the family, however, can be insured by law, as is altogether too well proven by the disintegration of the American family. We shall therefore have to count on influence other than law to preserve

the home and all that has just been depicted as its contributions to our larger social life.

The Uniqueness of the Rural Home and Family.—The rural family is unique in two ways: *first,* the importance and influence of the home in rural life in comparison and competition with other social institutions is much greater than it is in the city; *second,* the rural home performs, much more completely, all the functions described in the previous sections of the chapter than does the city home. The activities and lives of rural people center about the home. The father and mother are partners in business and even the children participate in the farm economic enterprises. The members of the country family spend a larger portion of their leisure time in the home than do those of the city family. They get a comparatively large portion of their education in the home. The parental contact is more constant and, therefore, the parental influence has opportunity to be much greater than in the city home. Farm children more often learn their occupational apprenticeships in the home than do city children. Marriage takes place earlier, and divorces are less frequent, than in the city. Children can be taught industry on the farm, under the direction of their parents, performing tasks suited to their strength, and without the menacing routine and drive of the factory. The rural household and house is an individual unit, not a tenement or apartment house. It is because of these facts, that the farm family life and the farm home are tremendously important in rural life, and equally important in national and world life.

If the rural family is narrow and restricted in ideas and ideals, if it is mercenary, if it lacks art and recreation, if it lacks beauty, education, religion, income, sanitation, conveniences, or any of the facilities for physical, mental, or cultural life and development, rural life will be handicapped even more than would urban life if these things were lacking in city homes. For in city life, many other agencies and institutions have come to substitute for the home and family, in furnishing these things. The standard of living of the rural person is either furnished by the family or comes through the

family in a much greater degree than it does in the city. Food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and social contacts are chiefly furnished in the rural home.

The Farm Family as an Economic Unit.—Farming is practically the only occupation in America in which the family still operates as an occupational unit. During the handicraft stage of production, the family, as a whole, except those members who were too young to assist in any way, formed the work unit in all occupations. With the development of the power and factory system of production, this system rapidly gave way to larger and more shifting labor units. In farming, the old household unit of labor is still a going concern, and probably will continue to be for many years to come. All members of the family assist in the same enterprise, as long as they are members of the farm household. The whole manufacturing production of the United States is carried on in about 300,000 plants, and, in many of these, there are men who have business interests in more than one plant. Agriculture, on the other hand, is carried on by means of something more than 6,000,000 business units, each generally represented by a farm family. This scheme of business enterprise has both its advantages and disadvantages.

The advantages accruing to the members of the farm family, to the family as a social institution, and thus to society by right of the fact that the farm family is an occupational and labor unit, are:

1. The mother and father are partners in economic interests, and so have reciprocal relations and sympathies, which are, to a degree, lost when this is not true.

2. The children can learn industry without those baneful effects which come from child labor under a boss. Tasks can be fitted to the age and strength of the child, and any adjustment made at any time that necessity requires.

3. The failures and prosperity of the enterprise are understood by all, and the adjustments to these fluctuations participated in by all. This, in no small way, accounts for the ability of the rural standard of living to adjust itself to such

severe tests as it is put to in times of crop failure and price depression.

4. Children, who later in life follow the occupation of agriculture, learn it from their own parents, whose patience and sympathy are valuable.

5. Sharing work and economic responsibility knits the family more closely in all interests and activities of life.

The disadvantages of the family unit of labor are:

1. Children, being valuable labor assets, are sometimes used to assist in the farm and household work to the exclusion of necessary play opportunities.

2. They are kept out of school to assist in farm work, and are not sent to high school because it is felt that they cannot be spared from the necessary labor supply force of the farm.

3. The mother's burdens are often altogether too arduous, especially when she assists with the field work and farm chores in addition to her household duties.

4. The fact that the economic returns are not definitely set, as they are in a wage system, leads the whole family to overwork, in order that the economic rewards may be increased.

5. Children have little or no opportunity to choose and learn other occupations, unless they leave home, and so must start their apprenticeship in other occupations late in life.

The Home as a Social Unit.—The existence and significance of the farm family as a social unit have already been set forth. This fact, too, has its disadvantages, as well as its advantages. The advantages are:

1. The parents really rear their own children on the farm. The other institutions, the street and the general neighborhood, too nearly rear the children of the city family. The home influence is constant and the home environment stable. Both parents and all the children eat three meals a day together, sit around the fireplace or stove in the winter time, play together, work together, and so become a part of each other.

2. The close association of the members deepens their love and regard for one another.

3. The moral integrity of the farm family is a tradition, and the children are reared in these concepts.

4. Family relationships and family social ethics are good models for most other human relationships. The child in the farm home has practical opportunity to learn them.

The disadvantages of the constant and restricted association are:

1. The social concepts are cast on a very narrow base. With so large a portion of the life of all members of the family absorbed in the home, there is little opportunity to meet and associate with other persons.

2. The farm family is often a closed corporation in ideas and ideals. It is altruistic, as between its own members, but selfish in relation to all others.

3. The very adherence to strictly family associations leads to clannishness, and has led to feuds in those places where the isolation is pronounced.

4. The fact that the adjustments within the family are constant and personal, has a tendency to level out the personalities of all members of the family group. A child with a peculiar temperament, or even a particular talent, is not given due consideration. This leveling process probably helps to account for the orthodoxy and conservatism of rural persons.

The Farm Wife and Mother.—That the mother is the heart of the home is not a mere sentimental statement. It is her task in life not only to be the engineer of the household, but the constant companion, guardian, and tutor of the children. President Kenyon L. Butterfield says:

> Woman's place in farm life is the severest test that agriculture has to face. If farm life cannot give the farm woman opportunity for real growth, for something besides drudgery, our rural civilization cannot go on. Nevertheless, the farm woman's career will always be found largely in the home, itself, and she rises or not, just as the farm home becomes or fails to become what it ought to be.[1]

In the farm home, the mother looks out for the consumption needs and habits of the members of the family, and acts as

[1] *Proceedings,* Sixth National Country Life Conference, 1923, p. 6, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

personal servant, advisor, and counselor of all. As Miss Martha Foote Crow says:

> The woman who is to administer in the farm home must be equal to several women. She must be master in the difficult art of cookery, adapting her means to the welfare of a group of people of all ages, and with all kinds of needs. She must be wash woman and laundry woman, cleaning and scrub woman. She must know all the chemicals to be applied to the cleansing of different kinds of metal, cloth, wood, and every sort of surface, painted and unpainted. She must be food expert, and textile expert, machine and poison expert. Besides all this, she must be teacher, instructor, and entertainer, the encyclopedia and gazetteer, a theological and philosophical professor. And all these separate functions must do their work together within one personality, the administrator, the little mother of the home, the companion of the kitchen, the parlor, and the bedside.[1]

In all of this, the mother must retain her capacity to be all that a mother should be, the provider of happiness and well-being for her children, and, if possible, the optimistic companion and helpmate of her husband in his tasks. ''

Professor Gillette says that farm women produced, in 1909, in butter, cheese, eggs, and fowls, farm values that exceeded those of the entire wheat crop of the nation by several million dollars.[2] A survey, made in 1919 by the United States Department of Agriculture, of over 10,000 farm homes, covering thirty-three northern and western states, found that 25 per cent of farm women helped with livestock, 24 per cent helped in the fields, 56 per cent cared for gardens, 36 per cent helped with the milking, and, yet, only 14 per cent had any hired help. Even those who did have hired help, had such assistance for an average of only three and six-tenths months per year.[3] In a great many sections of the nation, women assist in the field to a much greater extent than in the areas covered by this survey.

[1] Crowe, M. T., *The American Girl,* pp. 149-150, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1915.

[2] Gillette, J. M., *Rural Sociology,* pp. 371-372, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

[3] Ward, Florence E., *The Farm Woman's Problems,* United States Department of Agriculture, *Department Circular* No. 148, November, 1920.

That the farm woman is not always contented with farm life is not to be wondered at. For, with the important part she has to play in family life, she sometimes has little home equipment and few conveniences with which to work, and little opportunity to build up her own personality by means of outside contacts. She lives pretty much within the four walls of her own home, the nearest neighbor lives at some distance, sometimes miles away, and the institutional and service facilities from which she can get help and inspiration are miles away. Is it surprising, then, that many farm women do not want their daughters to remain on the farm to repeat the life they have lived; or that they develop eccentricities, sometimes scolding and nagging? The following two tables, and "Side lights from The Survey," are from the report of the study of 10,044 farms cited above:

TABLE 21.—SOME HOUSEHOLD DUTIES OF THE FARM WOMAN

Section of Country	Rooms to Care For Number	Stoves to Care For Number	Care for Kerosene Lamps Per cent	Carry Water		Do Own Washing Per cent	Do Own Sewing Per cent	Daily Mending Hours	Do Own Bread Baking Per cent
				Percentage	Distance Feet				
Eastern.....	9.7	1.3	81	54	23	94	86	0.5	89
Central.....	7.7	1.3	79	68	41	97	94	.6	97
Western.....	5.3	1.1	74	57	65	97	95	.5	97
Countrywide.	7.8	1.29	79	61	39	96	92	.6	94
Number of records....	9,781	9,224	9,896	6,511	6,708	9,767	9,724	8,001	9,614

Farm women love the country and do not want to give up freedom for city life. What they do want is normal living and working conditions in the farm home.

Because of the shortage of help prevalent throughout the country, women consider it especially important that modern equipment and machinery, so far as possible, do the work which would otherwise fall to women.

The farm woman does not wish to put up with an unsatisfactory

TABLE 22.—DISTANCES, AUTOMOBILES, AND TELEPHONES

Section of Country	Miles to District School	Miles to High School	Miles to Church	Miles to Market	Miles to Family Doctor	Miles to Nearest Hospital	Miles to Nearest Trained Nurse	Family Used Automobile Per Cent	Homes Having Phones Per Cent
Eastern	1.2	4.3	1.9	3.1	3.5	12.8	9.9	48	67
Central	1.6	5.1	2.6	4.6	4.9	12.7	11.8	73	85
Western	1.7	9.6	5.1	7.7	10.4	17.7	15.5	62	56
Average	1.5	5.9	2.9	4.8	5.7	13.9	11.9	62	72
Number of records	9,627	9,767	9,726	9,708	9,837	9,605	9,463	9,545	9,748

today in anticipation of something better tomorrow, or in her old age. She feels that she owes it to herself and her family to keep informed, attractive, and in harmony with life as years advance.

Women realize that no amount of scientific arrangement or labor-saving appliances will of themselves make a home. Women want time salvaged from housekeeping to create the right home atmosphere for their children, and so to enrich their home surroundings that they may gain their ideals of beauty and their tastes for books and music not from the shop windows, the movies, the billboards, or the jazz band, but from the home environment.

The farm woman knows that there is no one who can take her place as teacher and companion of her children during the early impressionable years, and she craves more time for their care. The home exists for the child, hence the child's development should have first consideration.

Farm women want to broaden their outlook and keep up with the advancement of their children, not by courses of study but by bringing progressive ideas, methods, and facilities into the everyday work and recreation of the home environment.

The farm woman feels her isolation from neighbors, as well as from libraries and other means of keeping in touch with outside life. "The farmer," she declares, "deals much with other men. The children form associations at school, but we, because of our narrow range of duties and distance from neighbors, form the habit of staying at home, and, to a greater degree than is commonly supposed, feel the need of congenial companionship." [1]

The Farm Child.—Child life on the farm varies all the way from wholesomeness, buoyancy, and abundant happiness to dreary stultification. The child may have the opportunities of contact with nature, flowers, birds, open fields, and animals, or he may be early put to work at drudgery and robbed of all these things. He may have the opportunities of a contented, prosperous, happy family circle; or he may be the member of a migratory horde, whose chief occupation in life is to furnish cheap labor for the beet, cotton, tobacco, and truck fields. Anyone, who pictures either of these phases of child life on the farm to the neglect of the other, not only is not dealing with all the facts in the case, but is doing little to as-

[1] *Ibid.*

sist in a complete understanding of rural life, or to help in the solution of its social problems.

The child on the farm is the member of a real family circle. Its contacts with its parents, brothers, and sisters are constant, and, for the most part, wholesome. Child life in the rural districts escapes many of the physical dangers incident to the complex and teeming life of the city. It is free from the influence of the gambling resort, gangs, slums, and other vicious degenerative centers. The child on the farm can have its pets, its own playground, its own small work projects, and the range of the open fields. It is doubtful whether city children ever reach the heights of buoyancy and enthusiasm over their particular type of life that many rural children do. The opportunity of the rural child to get the joy of being discoverer, explorer, and inventor during childhood is unique in child life. The range of the farm is his; the tools, implements, and animals are his to use, and observe, and handle. If all these things can be given meaning to him, as he experiences contact with them, the opportunity for personality development is unexcelled elsewhere in life.

Unhappily, children on the farm are not always given the opportunities just described. In the beginning of our agricultural development it was necessary that every member of the family be a part of the work force of the farm, and rural folk are slow to change their ways and ideas about the place of the child in life, even after such necessity has passed. Furthermore, many rural families are poor, and the labor and earnings of their children are thought to be essential to the economic maintenance of the family. The result is that there is a real child-labor problem on the farm, with its incidence of ill health, lack of school training, absence of play, and, in some instances, almost complete restriction or absence of wholesome childhood opportunities.

Agriculture employs three-fifths of the million child laborers of the United States. Over 650,000 children, under ten years of age, work in agriculture; 63,900 of them "work out," and are therefore not under the absolute guidance and direction of their parents. Much of child employment on the farm

is not bad, but, as Ruth McIntire asks, so any one will question whether it is "good" for children of five years old and up, to be treated as "regulars workers" in the cotton field during the school term, or for a ten-year-old girl in the beet fields to handle a total weight of several tons daily.[1] In Texas, local newspapers tell of cotton-picking contests among boys five years old. One youngster picked 2,002 pounds between August 29 and November 2, his best day's work being 81 pounds. The parents of another boy of the same age boasted that he had averaged 50 pounds a day during the season. Over 1,000 children were absent from school during all of September and October in the Philadelphia school district alone, because they were working in the adjacent cranberry bogs of New Jersey.[2]

The number of children engaged in agricultural pursuits has increased steadily for several decades. Between 1880 and 1900, the number very nearly doubled, and, between 1900 and 1910, increased approximately one-half. Between 1910 and 1920, the seeming decrease is probably accounted for by the fact that the census was taken in January, which is a slack season in farm work.

The baneful effects of agricultural child labor lie chiefly in three things: retardation in school; bad health and physical development; and the breaking up of normal home life. Cotton picking, tobacco "suckering" and "worming," "weeding," "hoeing," and "pulling" in the beet fields, and on the truck farms, all throw the body out of normal posture. In many of these processes, the child is not in an upright position during the whole day. In weeding, he often crawls on his hands and knees for hours at a time. In hoeing, the shoulders are bent in and forward, and the head is continuously bent downward. Migratory laborers often live in badly crowded shacks, or even tents, and under the worst of sanitary conditions. The agricultural work day is always long, and the pace is usually set by older people in the gang.

[1] McIntire, Ruth, *Children in Agriculture,* p. 3. *Pamphlet* issued by National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1920.

[2] *Child Labor Facts,* p. 11, Published by National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1924.

In a study of Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, made by the Federal Children's Bureau, it was found that in one community, where 218 white and 322 negro children, under sixteen years of age, were working, 8.7 per cent of the colored children were under eight years of age, and 28.5 per cent of them were under ten years of age. Over 7 per cent of the children under these ages were working over eight hours per day, some of them as many as fourteen hours per day. These children were almost universally retarded in school studies, due to absence from school for work in the fields. The white children under ten years of age were 10.5 per cent behind, and those fifteen years of age, 37.3 per cent behind. Over 22 per cent of them had missed twenty or more days of schooling during that year (1921), 3.8 per cent had missed eighty or more days. Twenty days is equal to exactly one month's school, and eighty days equal to four months' school. In this community, were 268 families, including, approximately, 550 children, under sixteen years of age, who were migrants, moving from one "camp" to another, living in "shanties." In another community, studied in the same survey, similar conditions were revealed. These 840 child laborers, under sixteen years of age, were studied: 78 per cent of them were under fourteen years of age, and 15 per cent under eight years of age. Over 63 per cent of these children had stayed out of school to assist in the farm work. Practically all of them were retarded in school studies. Over 13 per cent of the white children and over 33 per cent of the negro children were back more than three years in school training. The white children over fourteen years of age were retarded over three years in 33.6 per cent of the cases, and the negro children in 55.3 per cent of the cases.[1]

Studies made by the National Child Labor Committee in Michigan, Colorado, Connecticut, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and West Virginia, and numerous rural surveys made by different state agricultural colleges prove these conditions not to be exceptional in those areas where gang labor is used in cultivat-

[1] Channing, Alice, *Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, Bureau Publication* No. 123, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 1923.

ing and harvesting farm crops. All of them, as well as the United States census, show that poor school attendance, illiteracy, short school terms, and poor enforcement of compulsory school laws are most prevalent in those areas where agricultural child labor is most prevalent.

The child is the center of the home, and the chief concern of the home in rural life, as everywhere. Any condition of the home, or of rural life, which is menacing the welfare of children, is menacing or handicapping the rural home in its greatest function. The following extract, from the letter of a farm girl, states the blue side of farm home life.

> There exist, on many farms, conditions which make life there almost unbearable, to young people particularly. One of them is the lack of congenial companionship; which may be due to lack of material, or to the thoughtfulness of parents, which make it impossible for the young people to have their friends come to their homes. Then, in many farm homes, there is a woeful lack of books, magazines, and papers of the best sort; again due to the lack of education or of interest on the part of the parents. So, also, with pictures, music, and recreation. But perhaps greater than any other, excepting perhaps the first named, is the dull, weary succession of duties following each other, day in and day out, without rest or respite, and without any or with few of the modern conveniences to lighten the work.[1]

This section ought not to be concluded without again calling attention to the potentialities of the farm home for the normal development of child life. The following recipe, for offering children on the farm the real and potential opportunities of rural life, is given by Mrs. Ruby Green Smith of the New York State College of Agriculture Extension Service. It reads:

> A recipe for preserving the most important crop on the farm, the children.—Take one large grassy field. Add several children and a few puppies. Mix the children and the puppies together, stirring constantly. Sprinkle the field with daisies. Add a babbling brook and some pebbles. Pour the brook over the pebbles.

[1] Crowe, M. F., *The American Girl*, p. 79, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1915.

Spread over all a deep, blue sky, and bake in the hot sun. When thoroughly wet and brown, remove and set in the bathtub to cool.[1]

THE FARM HOUSE AND HOME CONVENIENCES

The Farm House.—While the statement, "the house does not make the home," is of course true, it is just as true that home life cannot be what it ought to be if the house is a continual handicap to proper organization, to house work, and the self-respect of those who live in it. The farm house constitutes almost the total environment of half the farm population, the farm women and small children all the time, and for all the farm population part of the time. Its size, arrangement, age, organization, and looks are important. Probably the weakest spot in the standard of living of the farm family, so far as the standard is measured in terms of physical values, is the farm residence. In a survey of 306 farm families in a well-to-do rural Missouri community, the writer found that the average age of the farm house was over twenty years. Since the time when most of these houses were built, practically all of the modern home conveniences have been made available. These houses are not equipped for the installation of the conveniences, and this fact is, in a small way, responsible for their absence. From a study of 1,014 typical farm families in North Carolina, facts were discovered which led to a calculation that 6,000 farm families in this one state are living in one-room houses, and 42,000 rural families are living in two-room houses.[2]

In sections of the nation which are or were one time timbered, thousands of farm families are yet living in log houses, and, in the western prairie states, many farm families are yet living in sod houses. There is no way of knowing, but it is probable that, could all the old, small, and poor rural houses of the nation be brought together, they would constitute slums

[1] *Proceedings,* Sixth National Country Life Conference, p. 31, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1923.

[2] Taylor, Carl C. and Zimmerman, C. C., *Economic and Social Condition of North Carolina Farmers,* Bureau of Economic and Social Research, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

equal to those of the combined great city slums of the nation. It may be true that, because the farm woman is her own housekeeper, it is not best for her to have an elaborate house to care for, but it is also true that few people live in poor houses who can afford good ones, and that the house in which a family lives is a fairly good index to the whole standard of living.

The housing problem in the country is considerably different from what it is in the city. In the city, the chief cause of bad housing is the existence of tenements. Millions of families live in houses owned by someone else. Ground space is at a premium, and overcrowding results from the high cost of land, and the desire, almost necessity, of the members of the family to be near the industrial centers where they work. In the rural districts, ample ground space is almost universally available. A large per cent of the families own their own residences, and each dwelling constitutes an individual unit to itself. Each rural farm dwelling can and should, therefore, have distinctive features of its own. It should be fitted to its natural surroundings, should fit the topography and landscapes, and should be the high point in the whole set of farm buildings. Such is not always the case. As one Missouri farm woman remarked to the writer, "A new barn will build a new house, but a new house will not help in any way to build a new barn." The farm house, however, in addition to being the eating and sleeping place for members of the farm family, is the work shop of the farm woman, the playhouse of the children, and the business office of the farm man. Each of these things should be adequately provided for in its plan and construction. In thousands of farm houses, the kitchen is also the dining room, the dining room also the living room and parlor, and the living rooms often also the bedrooms.

An adequate farm house should be equipped with a spacious kitchen, a dining room, a living room, a parlor or association room, ample bedrooms for the convenience and privacy of the different members of the family, and an office for the farm man.

The farm kitchen is not merely a place where the farm

woman cooks the meals for the family. In it she must do the butter making, the canning, often the washing and ironing, and work up the family meat supply. It must therefore be larger than the ideal city kitchen. Of course, if possible, a separate room should be provided for these general labors, and the housewife should have a sewing room where she can do the still prevailing family tailoring and dressmaking. An ample pantry or basement is also a necessity in the farm home, because of the large supplies of food that must be stored for winter use. As a matter of fact, there is every reason why the farm house, in space and equipment, should be superior to the city house.

Regulation housing standards require one-and-a-half rooms per individual resident. In some cases, and for convenience's sake, it may be desirable to place the family dining table in the ample kitchen, combine the dining room and living room, or combine the living room and parlor. The facts, however, that the farm man should have office space in the house, that the children ought to have play space, and that family entertaining in the home is much more prevalent in the country than in the city would sufficiently offset these suggested combinations to make the regulation housing standards apply to the rural house. Practically every rural survey yet made in any part of the nation reveals the fact that these conditions do not prevail.

The Farm House Yard.—The ground surrounding the farm house, because of its ample space, offers peculiar advantages for making the farm home attractive. This feature is discussed in greater detail in Chap. XVII, on Rural Art. The old, New England colonial house, and the Southern plantation house and yard were in many ways ideal, though usually larger than the average farm family requires. Planting is easy in the rural districts. The farm house yard should have plenty of shade trees, a grassy lawn, clump planting about the foundation and corners of the house, shrubs in the front, and a flower garden to the side or back. Miss Atkinson makes the point that the city house usually opens only on the street, but that the farm house opens to the side, or back, where the

various out houses, well, and garden are located, and where the farm men go to and from the barn and fields. It is necessary, therefore, if the farm house is to be attractive to those who live and work there as well as those who pass by, that its surrounding grounds and buildings must all be taken into consideration in the plan and construction.[1]

In addition to the points of attractiveness and convenience, the point of sanitation is important at the farm house. The city home is furnished its water, sewage, and food facilities by agencies outside itself. On the farm, all these things are provided at home. The location of the farm house in relation to the drainage from the animal and poultry yards; the screening from flies; the location of the privy; the disposal of garbage, sewage, and sludge; and the facilities for caring for milk and butter must all be provided in the arrangement, location, and construction of the farm house. These items are discussed in Chap. XV, on Rural Health and Sanitation.

Household Conveniences.—Home conveniences are even more important than the house to the farm woman and the daughters who help her do the housework. Overwork is the greatest menace to the adequacy of a housewife as a mother. Drudgery is one of the chief causes of discontent among the farm girls. It is the conviction of students of rural life, that much of the overwork and drudgery could be relieved if the same solicitude were felt for the fatigue of the woman on the farm that is felt for the man, and if anything like the same amount of money were expended in labor-saving devices that is spent for such things to carry on farm work. A farmer, who would not think of harvesting his wheat with a cradle, shelling his corn by hand, or even pumping his water by hand allows his wife to use the washboard, the coal cook stove, and the old well without a thought of the waste that is taking place by such labor-consuming tools. The farm man should not be held totally responsible for these conditions. He is but a part of the whole community, or even nation, which is placing money values above human values. The labor-saving de-

[1] Atkinson, Mary M., *The Woman on The Farm,* Chap. III, The Century Co., New York, 1924.

vices on the farm lessen the cost in hired-man hire and horse power, and make it possible for the farmer to farm a larger acreage and cultivate his land better. In the case of the farm woman's work, the gain would not so often be in dollars and cents, but in increased child care, home beautification, and self-improvement. These are not so obvious or so easily measured, and thus are overlooked. If, and when, these things are noticed, the farmer takes the lead in providing home convenience and labor-saving devices, and lessens the woman's part of the field work and chores, he seldom finds it objected to by any other members of the family.

The survey of 10,044 farm families of the Northern and Western states shows that the great majority of farm women do their work with a very meager supply of labor-saving devices. The table on the following page sets forth the facts discovered in the survey.[1]

The records of facts presented in this table are probably above the average for these states as a whole, for 55,000 questionnaires were mailed out, and probably only the more enlightened and progressive farm families reported data. Certainly the average is much higher in these cases than it is for the entire nation. In a similar survey of 1,014 farm families in North Carolina, it was found that 96.9 per cent of all the farm homes were heated by fireplaces, 98.6 per cent were lighted by lamps, 99.4 per cent of the washing was done by washboards, and that 19.3 per cent of the homes had no sewing machines. Not a single farm home had a vacuum cleaner, 99 per cent had no kitchen sinks, 98.1 per cent had no refrigerator, and 75.4 per cent had no carpets on the floors. Less than 1 per cent had running water in their homes, and none of them had power machines of any kind.[2]

It is apparent that the farm home, the bulwark of farm life and unique in modern society for its integrity and unity, is laboring under handicaps. If to the facts depicted in this

[1] Ward, Florence E., *The Farm Woman's Problems,* p. 9, United States Department of Agriculture, *Department Circular* No. 148, November, 1920.

[2] Taylor, Carl C., and Zimmerman, C. C., *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers,* pp. 43-46, Bureau of Economic and Social Research, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

TABLE 23.—EQUIPMENT OF FARM HOMES SURVEYED

Section of Country	Running Water Per Cent	Power Machinery Per cent	Water in Kitchen Per Cent	Washing Machines Per Cent	Carpet Sweeper Per Cent	Sewing Machines Per Cent	Screened Windows and Doors Per Cent	Outdoor Toilet Per Cent	Bathtub Per Cent	Sink and Drain Per Cent
Eastern	39	8	85	52	58	94	95	79	18	80
Central	24	22	60	64	46	95	98	89	19	52
Western	36	12	45	48	29	95	91	86	25	44
Average	32	15	65	57	47	95	96	85	20	60
Number of records	9,374	9,080	9,374	9,580	9,513	9,560	9,667	9,580	9,679	9,334

chapter, those facts be added which are presented in the chapters on health, education, recreation, art, and standard of living, it will make a black picture. Nor is the blackness of this picture to be denied. The day has passed, when the rural homes of the nation are so isolated and unacquainted with the modern facilities of city life that they are complacent under the conditions we have described. Happily, there are agencies and institutions at work on the task of remedying these conditions, and conserving for the nation the wholesomeness and happiness which the half of our national population deserves and must have.

Methods and Agencies of Rural Home Improvement.—Probably greatest among the agencies working for the improvement of home life on the farms of America is the Home Demonstration work. The Smith-Lever Act provides for "the extension of knowledge in agriculture and domestic science in rural communities of the United States." This Act was passed in 1914. By 1918-1919, there were nearly 2,000 home demonstration agents at work in as many separate counties in the United States. In 1922, alone, more than 250,000 improved practices among rural women, and 300,000 improved practices among rural girls were reported as due to home demonstration work. Miss Grace Frysinger of the Washington office of this work sets forth the work of the home agents in the following terms.

> The first item for consideration in home demonstration work is its permanent contribution to the rural home.
>
> Second, the scope of the information which may be given is as intimate as the problem of individual home making, and as broad as the field of civic improvement.
>
> Third, home demonstration work is so administered that even with but one home demonstration agent resident in the county, the maximum number of families in any county may receive the assistance desired in bettering home and community conditions.[1]

In addition to the work of the resident agents, the colleges of agriculture of the various states are regularly printing and distributing among farm families bulletins on, "Beautifying

[1] *Proceedings*, Sixth National Country Life Conference, 1923, pp. 143-144, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

the Home Grounds," "Lighting Homes by Private Electric Plants," "Modern Conveniences for the Farm Houses," "The Step-saving Kitchen," and bulletins under similar titles. The United States Department of Agriculture maintains a Department of Home Economic Research and now, under the Purnell Act, the various state experiment stations may do the same thing.

A criticism might be offered of the home demonstration agency that it has spent relatively too large a per cent of its time on production, marketing, and the individual farm woman's millinery, cooking, and dressmaking problems, and relatively too small a per cent of its time on the family as a social institution. Some further statements from Miss Frysinger would indicate, however, that the ideals of the future are to change this comparative emphasis. She says:

> We must direct the attention of rural people toward determining positive standards of health for every member of the family and the factors contributing to such a standard of well-being.
>
> We must help them to visualize home grounds, attractive and well-cared for, the inside of which are efficiently arranged, comfortable, and artistically satisfying, and in which there is every incentive and opportunity for mental, social, and spiritual development.
>
> We must help parents to realize that the matter of greatest importance in their lives is to develop their boys and girls, giving to them sound bodies, efficient minds, spiritual consciousness, and an appreciation of the cultural side of life, as well as ability to make a living. We must try to interest parents in intelligently preparing to meet their responsibility through studying methods of child care, child training, and construction discipline.
>
> There must be special stress on the need of greater spiritual consciousness and cultural development for all members of the rural family. We must urge that an environment of good household decoration, good music, good reading, and constructive family conversation is as definite a part of the responsibility of the parents as is the provision of food, clothing, and shelter.
>
> We must help farm people to see efficient farming and efficient housekeeping as the necessary framework for a satisfying family

life, and that rest, recreation, and cultural development are as necessary for rural, as for urban, family life.

We must help farm people to find enough leisure for true recreation and for family companionship and amusement, as well as for neighborhood family gatherings for songs, games, and other forms of social intercourse.[1]

These ideals almost run the gamut of necessary ideals for the rural home. If this one powerful agency, with its thousands of trained women working throughout the nation in the homes, in boys' and girls' club work, and in the communities, will follow the ideals set forth by Miss Frysinger, rather than spend too much time trying to help solve the production and economic problem on the farm, it will wield an influence in rural life not equaled by any other force. While the city has many facilities that the country does not have by way of institutional services, there is no agency with magnitude, power, and training equal to the home demonstration work which is dedicated solely to the cause of helping the country home.

There is not a defect or shortcoming of the rural home that does not have dedicated to its elimination one or many agencies. For improvement of general family life there is the home demonstration work. For child life there is the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, The National Child Labor Committee, Boys' and Girls' Club Work, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Boy Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls. For the rural house and its surroundings there are the Farm Engineers and Landscape Architects of the state colleges of agriculture. For the home conveniences there are these same farm engineers and home demonstration agents. For the education of the boys and girls in homemaking there is the coming of agriculture and domestic science in the rural schools. In addition to these are the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and similar agencies and organizations that include in their programs aids for the entire farm family. The state governments are passing and enforcing laws for the improvement of rural health, sanitation, and education. All of these

[1] *Ibid,* pp. 144-145.

activities in due time will have their effect in making rural home life vastly different from what we have depicted it to be at the present time. The federal government is not only supplying money and agencies for assisting, but is now making it the chief object of its reclamation service to establish worthy and efficient rural homes in new areas under development.

Ideals.—It should not be assumed from this dark picture of defects and shortcomings in the farm home, that there is no idealism in rural life nor knowledge of its exceptional family opportunities. The following excerpts from letters of farm women prove quite the contrary to be true in some cases, and these cases in the country are myriad. The wife of a wheat farmer in Illinois says:

> I actually feel sorry for the woman who doesn't get a chance to help her husband once in a while.
>
> A young, college bred woman in New York contends, I prefer living on a farm. My husband is such a help in the care, management, and discipline of the children. He takes the children all over the farm with him and lets them ride in a basket, or box, or seat securely fastened on rake, cultivator, or plow.

At the National Agricultural Conference called by the President of the United States in January 1922, the farm women said clearly:

> We stand for the conservation of the American farm home, where husband and wife are partners, and where children have the opportunity to develop in wholesome fashion.[1]

A farm magazine, *The Farmer's Wife,* conducted a nation-wide, farm woman's letter-writing contest on "Do farm mothers believe in farming? Have they enough faith in farming to want their daughters to marry farmers?" More than 7,000 farm women wrote letters answering these two questions.

[1] Quotations from, *The Advantages of Farm Life, a Study by Correspondence and Interview with Eight Thousand Farm Women;* Digest of an unpublished manuscript, obtainable from the Division of Population and Farm Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Ninety-four per cent of them answered, "Yes." One of the letters follows:

I'm going to stop a bit, dear farm woman, in the midst of my work, for wee daughter is having her nap and it's a good opportunity to tell you why I wish the best of all good things for our pride and hope and joy.

It is because I have known the happiness which comes of service, that I want my daughter to know it, too. Is there any greater joy, I wonder, than that of a hard task well done? When I have hurried with my work that I might do something extra outside, worked until I felt old and cross and tired, and the best man in all the world has said, "I certainly couldn't farm without you", oh, how I've thrilled. It becomes a little song in my heart and lightens my work for days. And even if he weren't the best man, I think I could be quite happy with the thought, "I've earned my way today; I'm helping with the most essential job on earth; I'm working for a better future."

Then there is the beauty of family life on the farm. Instead of seeing my son rushing off with the fellows, my daughter going out for a good time that I'll know nothing about, and the younger children coaxing to go to the movies, we'll be spending our evenings together with our music, books, and mutual friends, or going out to some amusement together.

And last but not least, of the good things I desire for this daughter o'mine, are peace, a love of nature, and time for quiet, happy thoughts. Can they be gotten by any other class of working people as easily as by the woman on the farm? She doesn't rush to finish her work that she may spend a day bargain hunting—a day of hurry, worry, and "me-first" thoughts; of spending money she shouldn't spend, and gazing at things she wants and can't have. No; she may sit on the front porch a bit, while she sews, or mends, or reads. She will see and feel and hear the beauty of the world—her world—and with an unruffled spirit she will go in and get supper for her hungry brood.

And so, folks, I want my daughter to marry a farmer, a good man, upright, steadfast, and true, with visions of the farm-life-to-be in his heart. Then, hand in hand, they can work to make their dreams come true, and she will know the happiness I have known. I could not ask for more.[1]

[1] For further information on the contest write, *The Farmer's Wife,* St. Paul, Minnesota.

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CHAPTER X

THE PROBLEM OF THE RURAL CHURCH

THE FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH IN RURAL SOCIETY

The Church's Division of Society's Labor.—The church is one of the great social institutions. In the field of definitely organized and thoroughly institutionalized life of society, it divides the field with the school, the home, government, and business. No other functions of life than those served by these five major social institutions have thus far so universally and persistently demonstrated their capacities to crystallize their activities into definite social organizations. Recreational and health activities seem to be tending toward definite institutionalization, but there is not yet a clearly defined recognition of a specific type of recreation or health organization which is sufficiently universal to be classed as one of the great institutions. Only education, government, family, business, and religion are found everywhere in American society definitely organized according to social patterns. Wherever one of these great and universal forms of social organization is found, we can be assured that either it now has, or in the past did have, some function to perform which was deemed by the masses to be essential and desirable. Furthermore, we can be assured that the need or function which gave origin and form to any particular institution could not, or was not, being adequately supplied or performed by any other institution at that time. The church must now have, or, at one time did have, a clearly defined part of society's labor to perform, else we would have no churches.

Since these five great social institutions are universal, the church must find its place in team work and cooperation with the other four. Professor Lindeman makes the point that institutions do not grow by accretion but by segregation and

specialization.[1] The same process that develops specialization between industries and divisions of labor within industries develops and sets the functions and programs of institutions. Economy in the larger social life, just as in industry, is developed by each part of the organization doing definitely, and expeditiously, its share of the total task. The church has its division of society's task. It must perform it or the task will be done poorly or not be done at all. Furthermore, it must persistently and intelligently perform its share of the task or give way to some new institution that will do so.

The church has its share in the task of assuring to all individuals and communities a well-rounded and adequate standard of living. A standard of living consists of those things which are essential to living and to participation in the normal life of the society of which one is a part. In its universal terms the standard of living means food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and friends. The demand, on the part of an individual or of a community, for each and all of these things is desirable and legitimate. If the church fails to provide for individuals and communities, its share of the standard of living for individual, and community life is just that much short of a normal standard. If it seeks to thwart the natural and legitimate desire for any one of these things, it places itself in maladjustment with normal life. In such cases it not only thwarts and hampers the life of individuals and communities, but, in seeking to perform its own function, it flies in the face of the wind. It is the function of the church not only to play its own part well but to play team work.

Religion and the Rural Church.—No fallacy is more universal in common thinking than to assume that the presence of churches and church organizations is a sure index to religion. There can be as great a difference between church activities and religion as there is between physical activities and health or business activities and profits. Nevertheless, it is for the most part correctly assumed that the church is the outstand-

[1] LINDEMAN, E. C., *The Community* Chap. VII, The Association Press, 1921.

ing agency of religion in the average rural community. Even so, the difference between the church and religion should be kept in mind. The function of religion is to help interpret individual and world life; to expand into the life of the world the emotions and feelings which are found valuable in individual life, and to teach men how to invest their lives in keeping with the ultimate purposes of all life. Religion always contains an ultimate aspiration. It always has some set program by which it believes it can attain that aspiration, and it has an undying and enthusiastic loyalty to that aspiration and program. The Christian religion measures its aspiration and times its program by that set of ethical concepts and those ultimate purposes given emphasis by Jesus and his interpreters.

The church, as one of the social institutions, is man made, as all institutions are. It has religious functions to perform. It grew into its present institutional form and activities by attempting to perform those functions in persistent and systematic ways. It has brought people together to talk over their aspirations and to develop and emphasize their ultimate life purposes. It has naturally evolved programs by means of which it thinks these aspirations and purposes can be reached. It has built buildings as meeting places. A church building in which people do not meet; a religion that does not discuss and develop aspirations and ultimate purposes of of life; a program that does not seek to develop the ideals of Christianity in the lives of all the people may still constitute a church, but it is not an agency of Christian religion. The problem of the rural church is not to build more churches, nor to organize more church congregations, nor even, altogether, to have more meetings and more preachings. The problem of the rural church, as is the problem of all institutions, is to keep itself alive to the best thought of its time, to adjust its program, enlarge its vision, develop human values and deepen and enlighten men's convictions concerning those things by which men should measure life's activities and by means of which they can attain the ultimate purposes of life.

THE STATUS OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The Decline of the Rural Church Membership.—The influence of the church cannot be absolutely measured statistically. Since, however, some statistical facts are good indices, we shall attempt to measure the status of the rural church by three types of statistical facts *viz.*, (1) church membership, (2) church attendance, and (3) church organizations.

The reports of the religious census of the United States do not completely differentiate urban and rural statistics. Any measure of church growth or decline obtained from these data will, therefore, have to be for the country as a whole and for large cities. The following table gives the facts for church organization and church membership but not for church attendance:[1]

TABLE 24.—CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

Date	Church Organizations		Church Membership		National[2] Population Per Cent increase	Per Cent of National Population in Church Membership
	Total	Per cent increase	Total	Per cent increase		
1890.....	165,151	....	21,699,432	....	....	34.9
1906.....	212,230	28.5	35,068,058	61.6	36.3	40.9
1916.....	227,487	7.2	41,926,845	19.6	18.9	41.1

These data make it apparent that there has been a persistent gain in church membership in the national population and that the churches of America are growing steadily in both number of organizations and church membership.

The following table gives the best facts that can be gleaned from the Census religious survey concerning city data:[3]

[1] Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Religious Bodies*, 1916, Vol. 1, pp. 24-30.

[2] Population for 1906 and 1916 was calculated as three-fifths of the increase between 1900-1910 and 1910-1920.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 119.

TABLE 25.—SHOWING MEMBERSHIP IN CITY AND NON-CITY POPULATION[1]

Group	1890		1906		1916	
	In Cities of 25,000 Population and Over	Outside of These Principal Cities	In Cities of 25,000 Population and Over	Outside of These Principal Cities	In Cities of 25,000 Population and Over	Outside of These Principal Cities
Per cent of National population	22.2	77.8	27.5	72.5	32.7	67.3
Per cent of National church membership	26.9	73.1	32.7	67.3	36.5	63.5
Excess or deficiency of church percentage to population percentage	3.3	4.7	5.2	5.2	3.8	3.8
Difference between city excess and non-city deficiency	8.0	10.4			7.6	

This table shows that it is in towns of less than 25,000 population, or in the open country that the deficiency in church membership exists. Further data, presented from a different angle, will lead us to the conclusion that this deficiency is most often in the open country.

Gill made a careful study of church membership over a period of twenty years in Winsor and Tompkins counties, New York. Both of these are dominantly agricultural counties, with the exception of the city of Ithaca in Tompkins County. He found that church membership increased but 4.28 per cent in Winsor County and but 2.0 per cent in Tompkins County in the twenty-year period.[2] The total increase for the nation over the sixteen-year period reported in the census was 93.2 per cent and for the cities of 25,000 population and over was 37.1 per cent.

A compilation of data gathered in a number of surveys of

[1] *Ibid*, p. 119.

[2] GILL, C. O., and PINCHOT, G., *The Country Church*, pp. 73, 154. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913.

rural churches scattered widely over the nation shows a more marked deficiency in rural church membership.

TABLE 26.—PER CENT OF POPULATION WHO ARE CHURCH MEMBERS IN RURAL DISTRICTS[1]

State	Township or County	Per Cent
Missouri	Boone County, Columbia Community	48.9
Iowa	One township	44.0
Pennsylvania	Eight counties	42.0
Indiana	Boone County	41.6
Iowa	One township	39.0
Tennessee	Gibson County	38.0
Maryland	Montgomery County	35.0
Missouri	Sikeston Community Scott and New Madrid counties	33.7
Ohio	Green County	33.5
Kentucky	Webster County	32.0
Ohio	Four counties, northwestern Ohio	31.0
Illinois	Thirteen counties	31.0
Ohio	Drake County, thirteen townships	29.4
Ohio	Butler County, ten townships	27.6
Indiana	Marshall County	27.4
Ohio	Six counties, southwestern Ohio	22.8
Iowa	One township	22.0
Kansas	Deswick County	22.0
Ohio	Montgomery County, nine townships	20.2
Missouri	Randolph County	19.9
California	Tulare County	16.2
California	Mann and Sonoma Counties	13.0
Washington	Pend Oreille County	12.0
Missouri	McDonald County	10.5

Here is information gathered in over one hundred different counties, townships, or communities in twelve different states. In only four cases do the percentages of memberships exceed those for the nation. It is very apparent that it is the rural church that is deficient in membership.

If the census data can be taken as indicative, the churches of the open country, and of the towns and small cities have always been deficient in church membership when compared with larger cities.

[1] These data are gathered from surveys made by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, Ohio Rural Life Survey, Iowa State University, The Inter-Church World Survey, and by the author and his students at the University of Missouri. Some of them include small villages. One includes only white population and one does not count either Catholic population or Catholic church membership.

There are other evidences that the rural church is declining. C. O. Gill, by means of a study of church registers of forty-nine rural churches, discovered that the total church membership in Winsor County New York had declined 1 per cent in twenty years. In Randolph County, Missouri, it was possible to get church records for seventeen churches for ten years, and of twenty-one churches for five years. The decline was 10 per cent in ten years and 3.1 per cent for five years. As we shall see later, there are certain types of rural churches that are almost universally declining.

In McDonald County, Missouri, a study of church membership was made for 1908, 1913, and 1918. The membership of twenty-seven churches in this county had declined 4 per cent in five years and 9.8 per cent in ten years. All of these churches were located in the open country or in small villages. Those in the open country declined over 10 per cent in the ten-year period. A detailed study of membership loss was made in this county. It was found that the country churches added more members by accession than did the city churches, but the city churches added more by letter or statement from other churches. On the other hand, the rural churches lost members by letters and because members quit, while the village churches lost mostly by death. It is apparent that the open-country churches lose members by two means—transfer of members to village churches, and through failure to keep the membership active. The same survey showed that a small percentage of the country church memberships consisted of young people. Both village and open-country churches had few young people and 1 per cent of the village membership consisted of boys and girls between twelve and eighteen years of age, while only 13 per cent of the country church membership consisted of persons of these ages. In Clermont County, Ohio, Vogt found but 16 per cent of the membership under twenty-one years of age.[1] In Randolph County, Missouri, 23 per cent of members were under twenty-one years of age. The fact that 50 per cent of the population of the United States con-

[1] Vogt, P. L., *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, pp. 305-306, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1917.

sists of persons between the ages of ten and thirty shows that the rural church is failing to enlist a due portion of persons between these ages in its membership.

Rural Church Attendance.—Church attendance is almost universally poor in rural churches. As in all churches, of course, the names of many persons who are in no sense active members are on the roll. There are many reasons why even conscientious rural church members are irregular in attendance. After surveying over 6,000 rural churches in Ohio, Gill chose six churches at random and discovered the following facts concerning attendance.[1] This is only 25.7 per cent of the

TABLE 27.—MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE

Members	Average Attendance
125	34
300	136
173	30–40
150	Less than 30
300	40
1,048	270

certified membership. In Randolph County, Missouri, it was found that the attendance was 61 per cent of the church membership and about 8 per cent of the population. In Pend Oreille County, Washington, the church attendance was over 100 per cent of the membership but was less than 18 per cent of the population. Other surveys indicated the same condition. The rural church, in the majority of cases, is not attracting the rural population. In McDonald County, Missouri, it was found that about 15 per cent of the church membership was non-resident and 36 per cent of the resident members were not active; this left but 48 per cent of the actual church membership as active.

The Abandonment of Rural Churches.—Certainly nothing is more indicative of the failure of an institution than for it to

[1] GILL, C. O., and PINCHOT, G., *Six Thousand Country Churches*, p. 9, The Macmillan Company.

close its doors. If the doors of a church building are closed because the membership has moved to another congregation in the country or to some town church, there is no tragedy in the closing. If the closing of the church doors means the death of institutional religion in the community or the loss of active church membership, there is tragedy in the closing. Bricker calculates, that there are 21,000 closed or abandoned rural churches in America.[1] The rural survey made in Illinois by the Presbyterian Church calculated that there were 1,600 abandoned churches in that state outside the city of Chicago. It stated further that many of these abandoned churches were in communities which were left without any church.[2] These are only calculations but whether the number is 5,000 or 25,000, the indication is either that there is taking place a reorganization of congregations or a straight loss of membership. Gill located, on the county maps of Ohio, 429 closed or abandoned churches. There was but one county in the state that did not have one or more rural churches either completely abandoned or closed. Sixteen out of the eighty-seven counties had ten or more abandoned or closed rural churches. One county had twenty-five and another twenty-three of these dead rural churches. In one section there were seven abandoned churches within a three-mile radius. In a number of single townships, there were four and five abandoned or closed churches. There has been scarcely a rural survey in the United States that has not discovered abandoned and closed churches. A study of the information made available by surveys of all sections of the nation makes it possible to assert that the abandonment is in somewhat direct ratio to the age of the settlement. This is not absolutely true, however, for the rural churches in the Piedmont section of the nation are not being closed or abandoned to any extent, though the civilization is old in this section. The abandonment is slight in the West and very marked in the Middle West. Everything goes to

[1] Bricker, G. A., *The Church in Rural America,* p. 41, The Standard Press, Cincinnati, 1919.

[2] *A Rural Survey in Illinois,* Department of Church and Country Life, Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.

indicate that the pioneer and the first succeeding generation build numerous rural churches, but by the time the third and fourth generations of settlement are reached many of the rural churches go into decay. The author knows of numerous rural church organizations in the Middle West which have run through three generations of settlement and have been housed in three generations of church buildings, but are now gradually falling into a state of decay. He has seen dozens of church sites which serve no function today except that which the cemetery performs. Two generations ago these churches were built; one generation ago they were thriving and serving the communities in their own way; today many of them are dead. If this sort of thing were common to all church life and organization, it might be considered as characteristic of institutionalized religion. It is not true except in the open country and the small towns. The abandonment of a few rural churches may not in itself be all bad; but to abandon twenty-five churches in one county, 500 or 600 in one state, and to have the abandonment become universal over the country is a sign of rural church confusion, if not of actual religious decay.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE RURAL CHURCH?

Sectarianism.—The dominant weaknesses of the rural church in the order of their importance are probably as follows: (1) sectarianism or denominationalism, (2) poorly trained preachers, (3) poor church programs, (4) poor church equipment, (5) lack of resident pastors, (6) poor support, and the inevitable result, (7) low membership and poor church attendance. Gill found sixty-one different sects and denominations in Ohio. The 1920 *Year Book* of the churches lists 204 sects and denominations in the United States.[1] The presence of half a dozen different sects or denominations in one community would destroy the institutional efficiency of any movement. The church is no exception to the rule.

The school has learned the tragic lesson of division into

[1] WARBURTON, S. R., *Year Book of the Churches,* Federated Council of the Churches of Christ of America, New York, 1920.

small units and is hastening to reorganize for the sake of efficiently carrying forward its program. The church has given very little evidence of having in the least analyzed its dominant weakness. The direct result of sectarianism is the division and dissipation of the church program of the community. From this division there results a small membership, division of support, dissipation of church leadership, poor and seldom-used buildings, poorly paid and poorly trained preachers, lack of resident pastors, and, very often, actual conflict between the congregations of the different sects. This overchurching of rural communities because of the sectarian zeal is not only futile in an attempt at church efficiency but is criminal. People who are learning to work with fine cooperation in other rural endeavors are handicapping their religious programs with silly sentimentalism over sectarianism of all kinds.

Rural Churches too Small in Membership.—The Ohio Rural Life Survey showed that churches with less than 100 members were failing to prosper. Surveys all over the country conducted since that discovery have substantiated this fact. The same surveys have universally shown that the church prospers in direct ratio to pastoral care.

The smallness of the church membership and the failure to provide churches with resident pastors are both direct results of a virulent sectarianism which handicaps the church in numbers and in financial aid per congregation. Gill found an average of five rural churches per township in Ohio. He found that 66 per cent of the rural churches had memberships of 100 or less, 55 per cent had membership of seventy-five or less, and 37 per cent had membership of fifty or less. If Ohio had but 1,200 instead of 6,000 rural churches, and had the same number of rural church members, she would still have an average of one church per township and the average membership per church would be five times as much as it is now. The average township is not too large an area to be served by one church. Thousands of schools are being consolidated in areas of this size. Hundreds of thousands of rural people are driving farther to reach their particular denominational

church than they would be required to drive to reach a centrally located church. Every observer of rural life has seen families drive from the shadow of a church of one denomination, and journey five to eight miles to reach a church of their particular sectarian choice. The genius of the church is such that no such mechanical arrangement as prevails in township and school location can universally prevail in its location. There is nothing in the genius of the church which so dictates that distribution of rural churches as to cause such dissipation of religious activity as prevails under the present sectarian organization. The same calculation could be made for salaries of rural ministers, consolidation of Sunday-school leaders, and improvement of church equipment as has been made for membership.

Poorly Trained Leaders.—There is no blinking the fact that rural ministers are poorly equipped for their task. They are, in the majority of cases, either young ministers serving their apprenticeship in rural churches, while looking forward to better positions in the city, or they are old preachers who can no longer meet the demands of up-to-date city churches. It is inevitable that city churches, with their better salaries, larger congregations, and more adequate equipment should attract the best ministers. Practically no one prepares for the life work of a rural minister. Few preacher training institutions attempt to offer such training. The rural church, because of its low salaries, catches practically all the untrained ministers. In Randolph County, Missouri, there were twenty men serving rural churches as ministers. Six of these had only a common school education; seven had from one to three years' college education; five had A.B. degrees and one an M.A. degree. These data are believed to be fairly typical. Of course, the training of men who are attempting to minister in the country districts varies in both directions. Gill states that the ministers sometimes are actually illiterate. On the other hand, some of the denominations require seminary training beyond the A.B. degree, and others require their ministers constantly to pursue training courses while actually in charge of some church. In any case, the church is probably led by more

poorly equipped leadership than any of our other great social institutions. Certainly, the rural church has the most poorly equipped leadership among the churches.

In McDonald County, Missouri, every one of the five ministers who lived in the open country and gave his full time to open country churches was without even grade school education. The same was true of two ministers who lived in villages and preached for country churches. The other two country preachers had one a common school education and one a denominational college education.

The large majority of preachers are trained in denominational colleges. These colleges are generally small, poorly equipped, poorly supported, and their faculty so limited that the teachers are compelled to carry such heavy teaching schedules that they can not do their best. Furthermore, the curricula of the denominational colleges are not such as to adequately prepare men for the rural ministry. Their academic courses are not up to the standard of other institutions of higher learning. The preacher training courses consist too much of Homiletics, Hermeneutics, Exegisis, Church History, and Systematic Theology. Consequently men are not trained in the social sciences, psychology, and science, much less in agriculture. A preacher who is not trained to a fairly thorough appreciation of the problems of agriculture need not expect to be taken into the council of farmers concerning their major economic and social problems.

The modern opportunities for enlightenment of farmers are such as to make many rural dwellers more intelligent concerning the problems of a modern world than are the rural preachers. Because of these facts, they are no longer willing to listen to a discussion of threadbare theological subjects or to spend their time listening to some one whose judgment, on the issues of the day, they cannot trust. The rural minister of the past was the best educated man in the community. His judgment on civic, economic, and social affairs was deferred to by his parishioners. Today such is far from the case. The rural preacher constitutes one of the dominant weak spots of the rural church, because he cannot exercise the in-

tellectual leadership which he should. Lack of training is at the bottom of his weakness.

Poor Church Programs.—The church programs of the rural churches are weak. In Ohio, Gill found 4,007 rural churches without resident ministers, and 1,599 churches with one-fourth time or less of a minister's preaching hours. No institutional program can be adequate without skilled and constant leadership. The rural churches of America, in the majority of cases, lack leaders. These data could be duplicated in practically every state in the Union. The preaching program is the dominant program of the rural church and this program is not carried on all Sundays in the month in 84 per cent of the rural churches.

TABLE 28.—PREACHING PROGRAM OF 6,060 RURAL CHURCHES IN OHIO[1]

Ministerial Service	Number	Per Cent
With resident minister	2,053	33.8
Without resident minister	4,007	66.2
With full-time minister	982	16.2
With one-half time minister	1,581	26.0
With one-third time minister	1,125	18.5
With one-quarter time minister	970	16.0
With less than one-quarter time minister	629	10.7
With no regular service of minister	721	11.9
Without data available	52	.8
Total	6,060	100.1

In a number of rural surveys, the church programs have been analyzed. In Boone County, Missouri, it was found that 74 per cent of the population, in the area surveyed, attend church more or less regularly while but 34 per cent of the population attend Sunday school.[2] In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community it was found that 45 per cent of the rural population attend church and 36 per cent attend Sunday school.[3]

[1] GILL, C. O. and PINCHOT, G., *Six Thousand Country Churches*, pp. 125-127, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

[2] TAYLOR, CARL C., *A Social Survey of the Columbia Trade Area, Boone County, Missouri*, (unpublished).

[3] TAYLOR, CARL C., YODER, F. R., and ZIMMERMAN, C. C., *A Social Study of Farm Tenancy in Southeast Missouri*, (unpublished).

From these and other data it is apparent that the rural church program is largely a program of one-fourth- and one-half-time preaching. The rural church has few of the auxiliary organizations which are a part of the average city church's program. Its house stands idle six days out of the average week and seven days in many weeks. In McDonald County, Missouri, only one country church had a young peoples' organization, only one had a ladies' aid society and none had a missionary society. In thousands of rural churches the Sunday school runs only a portion of the year.

The annual revival is a part of the average rural church's program. The purpose of revivals is to solicit members for the church. That they are universal, annual, and generally bear fruit in added members is sufficient testimony to their general futility, for the membership dwindles and the church doors close in the face of so-called successful revivals. An illustration is in a small village in Tompkins County, New York, where a revival in 1890 produced 200 converts. Only one of these ultimately became an active church member, while these churches have been struggling and depressed ever since. Gill says that it is evident that this revival has proved a lasting injury to these churches.[1] The following quotation aptly summarizes the weakness of this type of a church program:

> For the most part the farm people of these eighteen counties (Ohio) are very religious. This is attested not merely by the large number of churches, but also by revival services, held in the winter. (In Pike County, for example, no less than 1,500 revival services were held in thirty years, or an average of fifty each year.) Yet the moral, wholesome religion, bearing as its fruit better living and all-round human development, and cherished and propagated by sane and sober-minded people, is rarely known. The main function of the church, according to the popular conception, is to hold these protracted meetings, to stir up religious emotion, and under this influence, to bring to pass certain psychological experiences. No man is held to be religious or saved from evil destiny

[1] Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., *The Country Church,* pp. 43-44, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913.

unless he has had such experiences. It becomes, therefore, the business of the preacher of the church to create conditions favorable to experiencing these emotions.[1]

The author knows of a number of rural churches which hold annual revivals. They spend from $100 to $200 in these "protracted meetings." And then cannot support a one-fourth-time preaching program over two-thirds of the time. In the case of one rural church in the state of Iowa he knows of a revival with sixty-five converts. The church was closed immediately following the revival meeting and had not been opened, except for funerals, in the six months following. A farmer plowing in a field adjacent to the church testified to such revivals being held at least every two years and yet said the church membership was about thirty-five. The over-emphasis of the preaching part of the rural church's program is the cause of the universal, annual, country church revival.

City churches have recreation, social, educational, charity and social work, civic, Sunday School, men's and women's clubs, young people's auxiliaries and other programs. These things, with the exception of the Sunday school and occasional young people's "societies" are almost universally absent from the rural church.

Absence of Pastoral Aid.—Because the majority of rural churches are served by absentee ministers, the pastoral and visitation programs of the church are weak. Gill found one township in Ohio where the farmers' families had not been called on once in five years. One woman had not received a call from a minister in twelve years, but joined the church when she was called on. In another township, he found one family that had not been called on in twenty-five years. Of course, ministers who come into a community for one or two preaching services per month cannot be expected to do efficient community work.

A. W. Taylor made a study of the pastoral organization of rural churches in Missouri. The two following cases taken

[1] Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., *Six Thousand Country Churches,* 21 pp., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

from that study are typical. In one community there were four churches representing four different denominations. Each church had one-fourth-time preaching. No pastor lived in the community. One preacher came twenty-four miles, one twenty-five miles, one thirty miles and one forty miles to meet preaching engagements. The question was most naturally asked, "Who pastors this community?" In another case a preacher served four churches and lived in a city not very near any of his churches. He traveled fifteen miles to one of these churches, thirty-seven miles to another, fifty miles to another and sixty miles to the other. The question asked in this case was, "Where is his pastorate?"[1] Very often the preacher arrives just in time for the morning service and leaves immediately following the evening service. The author has known of student preachers who traveled over 200 miles to meet Sunday engagements with rural churches. He knows men who have spent their lives as "railroad" preachers, never having held a distinct pastorate in their lives. He knows dozens of rural ministers who spend the six days of the week in some other occupation and then travel to some distant rural church to preach on Sunday. Every observer of rural church organizations has made the same observations. No institution can be expected to prosper with such spasmodic and irresponsible leadership.

The Ohio Rural Life survey showed that only 11 per cent of the churches without ministers were growing, 26 per cent with non-resident ministers were growing, and 51 per cent with resident ministers were growing. This same survey showed that 47 per cent were growing where there was full-time preaching, 27 per cent were growing where was one-half-time preaching and 21 per cent were growing where there was one-fourth-time preaching. It showed only 4 per cent having full-time preaching. The effect upon church efficiency of such conditions is apparent. Gill's study shows a clear correlation between resident pastors and rural morality.[2]

[1] Taylor, A. W., *The Disciples of Christ in Missouri.*
[2] These data will be presented in the following chapter.

In addition to the prevailing absentee pastors, which is a great handicap in church organization work, the rural pastorates are very short. In one of the largest denominations in Ohio, 48 per cent of the ministers were preaching their first or second years and only 26 per cent had had as much as two years of acquaintance with their pastorates. About 1 per cent had served as long as five years. These data are typical for the finding of all rural church surveys. A year's service by a minister who does not live in the community cannot accomplish much by way of a community program.

Poor Physical Equipment.—The physical equipment of the rural church is almost universally poor. Even the live, wide-awake church organizations which have a building and equipment of which they are proud, would be compelled to acknowledge their deficiencies when compared with the equipment of a modern city church. Rural church buildings, like all other buildings, carry with them the tragedy of being sound physically, long after they are inadequate to meet the needs of the new programs. The large majority of rural churches are one-room buildings, equipped for preaching services only. The result is that no efficient Sunday school can be conducted because of lack of classrooms and no social or recreation programs can be carried out because of inadequate auditorium space. The churches are so little used, the membership is so small and the financial support so meagre that the equipment is often in a state of decay. The heating of many of the rural churches is so poor that it handicaps, sometimes completely eliminates, the church programs during winter months. The floor, seats, walls, windows, and pulpit are often anything but attractive. Almost universally the church building and equipment is below the housing standard of the homes of the community. The following statement of facts is representative of rural church equipment: In Green and Clermont counties, Ohio, 50 per cent of the churches have but one room; 61 per cent are wooden structures. In Montgomery County, Maryland, 55 per cent of the buildings are one-room. In Sedgwick County, Kansas, 62 per cent of the buildings are one room and

the average value of open country churches is $2,680. In Randolph County, Missouri, all the churches are one-room and 89 per cent are wood structures. In Southwestern Ohio nearly one-half of the edifices are valued at less than $1,000, of the 378 church buildings, 378 are one-room, only 90 per cent of the churches are heated with stoves, 71 per cent lighted with oil and only 3 per cent have horse sheds.

Poor Financial Support.—The rural church is poorly supported financially. This is not to assert that rural church members do not pay well for what they get from their churches, or even to assert that rural church members do not subscribe per capita financial support in just as great ratio as do city members. It is to say that per church organization the rural church is inadequately supported. Its physical equipment value is low. Its minister is poorly paid, its support of extra preaching programs is meagre. A study of the one-fourth-time churches of one whole denomination in the state of Missouri found the per capita contribution to be $3.[1] The per capita for all the churches of the nations was seven dollars and six cents in 1920.[2] In Pend Oreille County, Washington, the average rural church raised but $311 annually while the average village church raised $1,258.71. In this county, the per capita disbursements per rural church members were almost 50 per cent greater than those of village members.[3] A careful study of the findings of numerous rural surveys will justify the assertion that the farmer is willing adequately to support an efficient church program. Wherever his support is short, it is because his church does not justify more adequate support. The per member support tends to vary in direct ratio to services rendered by the church. The shortcomings are in the weak church organization because of overchurching and sectarian division.

[1] Taylor, A. W., *The Disciples of Christ and the Rural Church,* The Commission of Social Service and the Rural Church of the Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1915.

[2] Warburton, S. R., *Year Book of the Churches,* 197 pp., The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York, 1920.

[3] Brunner, E. de'S, *A Church and Community Survey of Pend Oreille County, Washington,* pp. 37-38, George H. Doran Company, New York, 1922.

The rural minister is poorly supported for about the same reason. He is not generally representative of the best trained and most experienced of his profession. The organization of his work is divided between two, four, and sometimes as many as seven churches. This makes it impossible for him to render valuable service to any one church. Gill found that in 1917, 688 pastors of rural churches in Ohio received on the average $993 per year, and 188 pastors of the United Bretheren Church received an average annual salary of $787.[1] This is poor support for ministers but is no evidence that the rural church member is not contributing his share to the propagation of religion. Rather it is proof that the dissipation of church organization is failing to give the minister adequate support in somewhat the same ratio as it is failing to perform the whole task of institutionalized religion.

We have already discussed at some length the weakness of church membership and church attendance in rural communities. That these are direct results and not causes of the other weaknesses, is not difficult to prove. Rural churches do not suddenly fall into decay. The usual rule in a new or pioneer community is that one church is built; it is fairly adequately supported by a large portion of the community. The field, because of this fact, and because of the denominational zeal of other sects, is soon filled with a number of other churches. The support is divided, the membership is divided and sometimes actual denominational strife ensues. Non-church members who would willingly have attended and supported the one church of the community refuse to take sides in the denominational struggle. Denominational church supporters become discouraged over the depleted church program and the resulting fewer meetings. The young people of the community have competing church attractions. Not only the membership and attendance of the individual churches fall off but in some cases the per cent of the total church membership and attendance actually dwindles.

[1] Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., *Six Thousand Country Churches*, 122 pp., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

The pioneer sections of the nation are not over churched. Neither are the churches of these sections dying or the church attendance falling off. In Pend Oreille County, Washington, the attendance exceeds the membership and the per member disbursements are $36.53 per year. It is the church of one-fourth or one-half-time preaching and of small membership that has poor attendance, and poor support per member.

The two following characterizations of rural church situations are altogether too representative of the vast majority of rural communities; though, of course, there are exceptions. We are giving summaries from these two surveys because they do present so many typical situations.

In the northern central part of the country is an area of ninety-six square miles in which are five organized churches with an aggregate membership of 125. The population of this territory is about 1,400. Dug Hill, in this district, illustrates the inadequacy of human judgment in equipping a given territory with centers of gospel light. At this point there stand two churches, in a lonely place in the edges of the woods, grimly looking at each other. They once worshipped in one building but something happened and under the press of sectarian strife the second Zion was set up. Neither one has a regular pastor, the members are widely scattered over this sparsely settled district and neither one has more than twenty-five members. Yet both are striving to keep up the ordinances; and each has a Sabbath school and a few earnest people are trying to do their best under these unfavorable conditions. . . . There are ten abandoned churches in the county. . . . A pastor's time is divided between a number of churches. Many of them have four places of preaching and some as many as six.

Of eighty country churches studied, ten have resident pastors. Two of these are in the open country and their pastors have appointments that require them to be absent three-fourths of the time. Of thirty-five pastors, ten have one place of preaching, eight have two places, four have three places, eight have four places, two have five places, two have six places and one has seven places.

Taking the gain or loss of membership as a measure for a period of ten years out of sixty-one churches, it appears that twenty have gained, eighteen have lost, nineteen are standing still, while four are dead.

Few churches outside the towns have organizations connected with them, except Sabbath schools, some Ladies' Aid or Missionary Society and Young Peoples' Leagues.[1]

In McDonald County, Missouri, in 1918, there were twenty-seven active churches, fourteen in villages and thirteen in the open country. There were thirteen abandoned churches in the country. The total church membership had decreased 15 per cent in the last ten years. Only 11 per cent of the population of the county was represented in church membership; 38 per cent of the resident church members were non-active; 46 per cent of the open country churches had no Sunday schools. Only one country church had any auxiliary church organization. This county is worse than the average and yet it only represents, in an exaggerated degree, the facts, conditions, and tendencies which constitute the problem of the rural church of America.

This chapter has been a portrayal of facts which constitute a very small portion of the information now available on the rural church situation in the various sections of the nation. These facts show the church to be actually decadent in the older settled areas of the country. That church divisions and ill-equipped ministers are the two chief causes of the decadence, we do not hesitate to assert. Since these two chief causes are items over which the country man himself has little control, the situation is not bright for the country church. There is a way out, however. The rural necessity for union and cooperation of forces, for unfettered and clear-visioned leadership will ultimately do for the rural religious situation what it has largely done for the religious program of foreign missionary work, *viz.*, force church leaders and church schools and church dogmas to yield a wholesome life in the communities where rural churches are located. An analysis of how this can be done and in some measure is being done will furnish the subject matter for the next chapter.

[1] Excerpts and direct quotations from *A Rural Survey in Arkansas*, pp. 23-25, Department of Church and County Life, Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.

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CHAPTER XI

AN ADEQUATE RURAL RELIGIOUS PROGRAM

THE DISCOVERY OF THE RÔLE OR MISSION OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The Church Must Teach and Develop Ideals in Rural Life.— The morality of rural people is not low. In fact it is high. The morals of the rural community are stern, and no wide departure from them is tolerated. The impersonal relationships, which exist in city life, are unknown to country people. Everyone is a member of the community; anyone who is delinquent is marked. Anyone who is habitually dishonest or untruthful is known by all to be such. A wild boy or an undisciplined girl becomes a subject of neighborhood gossip. A rural community comes much nearer living to itself than a city community does; it is, therefore, concerned about its own integrity. The old-fashioned family is still a reality in the open country. Rural parents are much more likely than city parents to know where their children are at night and on Sundays. Rural life is not a life of change. The farmer is slow to change his ideas about right and wrong, just as he is slow to change his ideas about other matters. All these things make for a rule of custom. Unconsciously, each new generation and each newcomer into the community falls into line with the accustomed way of doing and thinking. Probably it is partially because the farmer is used to believing that he can count on the fundamental integrity of others, that he is easily swindled.

The existence of stable, almost static, and sometimes stultifying tendencies of rural life and rural thinking, however, lead to a lack of idealism among rural folk. Poetry, art, and literature are sadly lacking in rural life. The sentimental is almost universally decried. The stern forces of nature and the pressure of occupational habits crush out many ideals. It is prob-

ably because of these facts that it is hard to rally farm populations to civic causes, and difficult to get them to fight the battles of social progress.

The essence of religion is to develop aspirations, to expand individual emotion into altruistic impulses, and to teach people to measure all things that are by what they ought to be. This is the church's most definite task. The preaching of individual salvation alone, the teaching of denominational creeds, the encouragement of an undying loyalty to sectarian beliefs and dogmas have not only kept the rural church from prospering, but have robbed modern rural civilization of many of the ideals which other elements of our population have, and which some rural civilizations of the past have had. Religion is almost automatically propagandic, promotional, and predictive in nature. The type of religion which the rural church must teach must no longer be robbed of its birthright. Rural people must no longer be led to think of religion and the church as restrictive of life, but they must be given a more abundant life, by means of a religion and a church, that expand their understandings, appreciations, and visions of life.

The Rural Church Must Exercise Moral and Ethical Leadership.—Rural life may be more static and less complex than city life, but every human relationship known to man exists as an inevitable part of rural life. Sin inheres in wrong human relationships, righteousness in right human relationships. These relationships are all in the rural communities. Moral and ethical teaching and leadership are needed in rural communities as much as in other places. Every element in the standard of living—food, clothing, shelter, health, education, recreation, and friendships—for which persons strive, is found in rural society. Each of the great institutions—the home, the school, government, business, and the church itself—is a part of every rural community. If persons go wrong in their pursuit of these elements in their standards of living, they are immoral and unethical. If they build poor institutions, fail to give proper emphasis to the institutionalized phases of their lives, or refuse to participate in the support of

the social institutions they are poor citizens. The church has the task and opportunity of developing and teaching moral and ethical judgments on these matters.

Just now farmers, through their various economic organizations, especially through the farm bureau and commodity cooperative marketing movements, are developing all sorts of new business relationships and contacts. They need to time their movements by some other than revolutionary ideas and economic gain. The church should be on the job with ethical leadership. Furthermore, the farmer is very rapidly coming into his own politically. He, as all others, needs ethical leadership in the exercise of his citizenship and political power.

In addition to these newly developed relationships, rural communities have in their midst the relationships of persons of different economic and social status. people of all ages, the problems of sex relationships, business relationships between members of the community, recreational relationships, and many others. These adjustments in life will no more take care of themselves in a rural community than they will elsewhere. An "other-worldly" religion will not take care of them. The rural community needs a dynamic moral and ethical leadership.

That the rural church is failing to furnish ethical and moral leadership would be a deduction easily drawn from a knowledge of the type of religion that is preached from the average rural pulpit. We need not stop with deduction, however. C. O. Gill made a very careful study of certain moral and civic characteristics and the church habits of the people in eighteen counties in Ohio. He reached the conclusion that the church was failing in its function, and was almost inclined to conclude that it was doing so because its type of religion and church division contributes to civic unrighteousness. The following excerpts are quotations from his conclusion:[1]

It is evident that the failure of the churches in this area cannot be laid to the weakness or poverty of the denominations represented, for they are, for the most part, neither weak nor poor. Ohio, more-

[1] Gill, C. O. and Pinchot, G., *Six Thousand Country Churches,* pp. 19-21, The Macmillan Company, 1920.

over, is a wealthy state, and its churches make large contributions for church work and church extension both in America and abroad.

In rural Ohio, the worst moral and religious conditions are found where there are the largest number of churches in proportion to the number of inhabitants. . . . In the rural sections of these eighteen counties, there are 1,542 churches and 248 townships, or more than six churches to a township.

In the state as a whole, about one-third, or 34 per cent, of the rural churches have resident ministers. But in thirteen of the eighteen counties, less than one-fifth of the churches have resident ministers. Here, as in most rural sections, an absentee ministry is necessarily ineffective.

Officials of denominations to which more than two-thirds of the churches belong, encourage or permit the promotion of a religion of the excessively emotional type, which encourages rolling upon the floor by men, women, and children, and going into trances, while some things which have happened in the regular services of a church in one of the largest denominations cannot properly be described in print.

The following table presents the correlation between the moral and civic conditions and the church organization of the "Eighteen Counties":[1]

TABLE 29.—MORAL AND CIVIC CONDITIONS AND CHURCH ORGANIZATION

Moral and Civic Facts	Average for Eighty-eight Counties of Ohio	Facts from Most Outstanding County of the Eighteen Per Item[2]
Average annual rate of deaths from tuberculosis of the lungs per 100,000 persons, 1909, 1910, 1911	125	217
Average annual rate per 100,000 population of illegitimate births for 1909, 1910	43.9	123
Per cent of illiterate males of voting age, 1910	4.2	11.6
Number of persons to a church	279	178
Per cent of churches having resident ministers	34	14
Number of persons to each resident minister	825	1,458

[1] *Ibid*, p. 37.

[2] While the most outstanding county per individual item is presented in this table, it is also true that any one of the eighteen counties could have been chosen, and the same comparison, only with different ratios, would have prevailed.

The facts presented in this table are almost too patent for discussion. Every item listed is of civic or moral significance to any community. Numbers of churches, denominational zeal, and frequency of revival meetings have apparently not influenced the civic and moral life of these counties, unless in an adverse manner. It was in one of these eighteen counties that 1,500 revival services had been held in the last thirty years. It was in some of these counties, also, that the national scandal of vote selling took place a few years ago.

One item presented among these facts is particularly worthy of note, *viz.*, that the number of resident ministers per church and per population was low in the eighteen counties. The churches were there in overabundance, but the religious teacher, community pastor, and moral leader which the church was supposed to furnish was absent in all but 14 per cent of the cases.

Moral and ethical character for individuals and communities is not a result of sudden conversion, except in extraordinary cases. It is a matter of habits and often of judgment. A leadership, which prevails only over the period of a short revival meeting, is exercised only one Sunday per month, this leadership for only one Sunday per quarter, or even for a year, is not capable of contributing much to individual or community character building. The leadership of the church must be continuous. The absentee ministry, short pastorates, and a mere preaching program cannot do the job. The church must have a preacher who lives in the community over a period of years, conducts systematic training in moral and ethical judgments and ideals, and participates in guiding human adjustments wherever and whatever they are. Preachers at the present are hired and fired by rural congregations mostly because the congregation likes or dislikes their pulpit performances. This is not surprising, since pulpit performance is about all the preacher has an opportunity to demonstrate under the present inefficient rural church organization.

The Rural Church Must Be a Real Social Institution.—A social institution always has two tasks of adjustment—the

task of performing well its own division of labor; and the task of working in cooperation with other institutions and agencies. The division of labor and the specific tasks of the rural church have been outlined in the discussion just presented. How the rural church can work in cooperation with other agencies and institutions in rural endeavor is of no less importance. Often the church finds itself located in a community where many worth-while things are not being done by other agencies. The life of the community may be abnormal, because the young people have no adequate leisure-time program; because there are no social, pleasure, and improvement clubs for adults; because library facilities are lacking ; because the farmers of the community are not practicing economic cooperation; because the means of transportation and communication are poor; because there are unhealthful and unsanitary places and practices in the community; or because the people lack educational vision and ideals. All these things are matters of deepest concern to the life of the people. If no other agency has a definite program and piece of machinery for handling them, the church is surely justified in attaching them to its central function. If there are agencies for the promotion of recreation, health, education, social improvement, beautification, road improvement, or better farming, which are working in the community, the church should work in dynamic cooperation with these agencies. It can often furnish a meeting place and facilities for staging their programs, and promote their success by announcement and advertisement.

The chief vision that the church needs to get of its institutional significance is an understanding that no social institution is an end in itself. Every item in the program of the church and every purpose it seeks to promote should be not for itself but for the community. The chief fault of the rural church of the past has been, and the abiding sin of the sectarian church still is, that it looks upon the community as territory and population to be worked for the sake of building up the church rather than looking at the church as a working agency in the life of the communities. All institutions, gov-

ernments, industries, schools, churches, and homes are too likely to think of themselves as having institutional vested rights. The church is particularly addicted to this fallacy because of its other-worldly teachings and sanctions. Every institution must constantly make good its right to exist, by adequately performing the function which justified its origin. Judged either by its average programs or by its failure to survive in rural districts, the church has proved that it is guilty of having lost, or of never having conceived, its institutional significance.

THE EFFICIENT ORGANIZATION OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The Par-standard for Country Churches.—One of the developments growing out of the Inter-church World Movement was the adoption of the "Par-standard for Country Churches." This standard was worked out and approved by the Town and Country Committee of the Home Mission Council, and submitted to a large group of the survey workers representing every state in the Union. These people had all done field survey work, and were familiar with the varieties of conditions existing in America. It should also be stated that, in addition to investigational experiences, these men had been country ministers, and knew intimately the problems of the rural parish. There was unanimous agreement that this Par-standard should be placed before the country churches of America, not as an ideal far beyond their accomplishment, but as a goal which a church might, in all reasonableness, expect to attain. Since that time, one denomination, and the home mission departments of two others, have adopted the Par-standard with slight adaptations for their own purposes.

It should be stated that no attempt has been made to give comparative value to the points in this Standard. So far, the table shows that a resident pastor on full-time counts as much as horse sheds or parking space. Obviously, this is a weakness in the Standard, but it was drawn up, not for the purpose of comparative valuation, but for the purposes of suggesting

minimum achievements for a country congregation of average strength.

The points covered in this Par-standard for Country Churches are as follows:[1]

Adequate Physical Equipment	Up-to-date parsonage
	Adequate church auditorium space
	Social and recreational equipment
	Well-equipped kitchen
	Organ or piano
	Sunday-school room
	Stereopticon or moving-picture machine
	Sanitary toilets
	Horse sheds or parking space
	Property in good repair and condition
Pastor	Resident pastor
	Full-time pastor
	Service every Sunday
	Minimum salary of $1,200
Finance	Annual church Budget adopted annually
	Every member canvass
	Benevolences equal to 25 per cent current expenses
Meetings	Cooperation with other churches in community; systematic evangelism
Parish	Church serves all racial and occupational groups
Religious Education	Sunday-school held entire year
	Sunday-school enrolment equal to church membership
	Attempt to bring pupils to church
	Special instruction for church membership
	Teacher training or normal class
	Provision for leadership training
Program of Work	Organized activities for age and sex groups
	Cooperation with boards and denominational agencies
	Program adopted annually, 25 per cent of membership participating
	Church reaching entire community

This standard might be stated in less categorical terms as follows:

1. The rural church must have adequate space, buildings, and working equipment, such as physical machinery and technologies, if it is to perform its task well.

2. It must have a church leader, in the person of the pastor, who gives his whole time to the task, and to whom sufficient remuneration is given to guarantee an adequately trained man.

[1] BRUNNER, E. DE S., *A Church and Community Survey of Pend Oreille County, Washington*, pp. 44-45, George H. Doran Company, New York, 1922.

3. It must have an efficiently organized business policy, which provides support for all the programs of the church.

4. Its meetings must be so organized and conducted as to furnish definite and consistent religious direction to the lives of the members of the community.

5. It must conceive of its parish as encompassing all classes and types of people whom it can bring within its influence.

6. It must furnish religious education for the sake of training persons to carry on its own program, and for efficient living in the community.

7. It must have a program which challenges the interest and solicits the support of people of all ages, all sexes, and all types.

There are thirty elements or points in the Par-standard. A rural church that scored 30 would not yet be an ideal church, but it would be far better equipped to perform its task than is the average rural church at the present. Table 30 illustrates the application of the slightly modified Par-standard to ten rural churches. In the table, there are but twenty-nine points. The average for the ten churches, which are measured by the standards, is 11.7.

A study of this table reveals the weak points in these ten churches. Not one of them is attempting to reach the entire community; not one adopts an annual program of work; not one makes provision for leadership training; not one practices systematic evangelism; not one is equipped with sanitary toilets or with social and recreational equipment. The first four of these weaknesses just listed are weaknesses in elements which constitute the very heart of the rural church's task. A church which does not have a definitely planned program of work; does not even attempt to reach the whole community; makes no attempt at training church and Sunday-school leaders; and does not work systematically and constantly to induce persons to live Christian lives, is a weak church indeed. Again we see the influence of the denominational divisions of the churches, in the failure of every one of these ten churches even to try to reach the entire community.

If we measure these ten churches by the seven major divi-

TABLE 30.—A STUDY OF ACTUAL CHURCHES, EACH DESIGNATED BY A NUMBER[1]
Key: V = Yes, X = No, .. = No information.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Endeavoring to reach entire community ...	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-0 X-10
Adopted annually, 25 per cent of membership participating	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-0 X-10
Cooperation with other boards and denominational agencies	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V-8 X 2
Organized activities for age and sex groups ..	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-1 X 9
Provision for leadership training	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-0 X-10
Teacher training or normal class	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	V-1 V-9
Special instruction for church membership .	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	V	V-3 V-7
Systematic attempt to bring Sunday-school pupils into church	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-1 X-9
Sunday-school enrolment is equal church membership	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	V-4 X-6
Sunday-school held twelve months of year ..	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	V	V-8 X-2
Church serves all racial and occupational groups	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	V	V	X	V-6 X-4
There is systematic evangelism	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-0 X-10
Cooperation with other churches in community	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V-9 X-1
Benevolences are equal to 25 per cent current expenses	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V-6 X-4
Every member canvass conducted yearly ...	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V-5 X-5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Annual church budget adopted yearly	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V-5 X-5
Salary at least $1,200 per year	V	..	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V-5 X-4
Services in church every Sunday	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V-7 X-3
Full time given by pastor to this church	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V-4 X-6
Pastor resides in the community	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X-7
Property in good repair, in good condition	V	..	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V-8 X-1
Horse sheds or parking space on property	X	V	V	X	..	V	X	V	V	V	V-6 X-3
Sanitary toilets provided	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	V-2 X-8
Stereopticon or movies	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	V-2 X-8
Separate Sunday-school rooms	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	V-5 X-5
Well-equipped kitchen	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V-1 X-9
Other social and recreational equipment	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	V-1 X-9
Adequate church auditorium space	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V-2 X-8
Up-to-date parsonage	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V-7 X-3
Total points reached	12	10	16	17	6	10	15	8	7	14	Average 11.5

[1] *Home Lands*, October, 1920, pp. 5.

sions of the standard (those listed at the extreme left in the table), we find that the weaknesses rank as follows: (1) Program of Work, (2) Religious Education, (3) Adequate Physical Equipment, (4) Meetings, (5) Parish, (6) Finance, (7) Pastors.

One Adequate Church, Church Building, and Equipment for the Community.—It is just as foolish to divide the institutional program of religion in a community between a number of churches, each striving to perform the same function and accomplish the same purpose, as it would be to divide the educational program of the community between a number of schools, each striving to do the same thing. The author is thoroughly aware of the difficulty of organizing church effort on the mechanical basis of one church to each community. Sectarian allegiance and loyalty run too deep at the present time for such a scheme to be inaugurated quickly. That it will ultimately come to be a fairly universal practice, there can be little doubt. In some places it will come, because of conscious rational effort; in other places it may have to come by means of "the survival of the fittest" among the numerous churches which now infest the community. The tragedy of allowing it to come by the latter of these two methods is that the religion of the community will be weak for years to come and in many cases all the churches will fail, leaving the community, as it has already done in numerous rural districts, with no church at all.

In discussing the rural church weaknesses in Ohio, we suggested that one-fifth the number of rural churches could efficiently supply the church needs of Ohio rural life. Let us see, then, what this one church might, or could, expect under such circumstances. In Ohio, the average church membership is 280; five times this is 1,400. The average of rooms per church building is about 1.3; five times this is 6.5. The value of the church building is about $3,000; five times this is $15,000. The average amount of ground is one acre; five times this is five acres. The average annual expenditures are $1,618; five times this is $8,090. If the disbursements were distributed as they are in Green and Claremont counties, Ohio, there

would be $2,115 for the pastor's salary, $240 for Sunday-school, $440 for supervision, $2,010 for repairs, $495 for home missions, $595 for foreign missions, $770 for other benevolences, and the remaining amount for fuel, light, janitor service, and other current expense. Let us set forth these items in a table that we may get some vision of such a church.

TABLE 31.—A NORMAL, CONSOLIDATED, RURAL CHURCH

Grounds	Five acres
Rooms	Six or seven
Parsonage	$9,910
Membership	1,400
Annual budget	8,090
Pastor's salary	2,115
Sunday-school expense	240
Home missions	495
Foreign missions	595
Other benevolences	770
Supervision	440
Repairs	2,010
Current expense	1,425

In addition to these items of physical equipment and financial outlay, there would be a consolidation of the musical talent, better use of efficient Sunday-school teachers, and a better organization of church effort in every way. This cataloging of items is not given merely to show what could be expected if duplication and waste of expenditure, equipment, and effort were eliminated. Steel Creek Presbyterian Church, of North Carolina, exceeds this display in every item, from the pastor's salary to the church building. It is able to do so only because it has a practical monopoly on church work in its community.

A church, which is recognized as the sole and adequate religious institution of the community, will rally to its support non-church members, as well as members; it will attract to its service all members of the community; enroll in its Sunday-school practically all the children of the Sunday-school age; and will become the natural social center of the community in the promotion of every program which is not adequately cared for by some other agency. The author could

not so confidently make this statement, if he had not personally known some half-dozen such churches, and if he did not have knowledge of a number of others.

In an attempt to resolve the duplication and waste of effort, and eliminate conflict of religious purposes, a number of practical community church arrangements have been worked out. These are: federation of churches, denominational trading, church union, and the monopoly of one denomination. In the federated church scheme, each congregation preserves its denominational integrity and each sect meets its own denominational obligations, but the combined membership meets in one house, supports one pastor, and consolidates all local church effort. Sometimes the pastorate rotates between the different denominations; sometimes the pastor proves so satisfactory to all concerned that he is retained for a number of years; and sometimes a minister who is not a member of any of the denominations represented in the federation is secured. The latter is probably the best plan, because it eliminates all suspicion and really makes the church, except as each of the original congregations is obligated to the overhead organization of its brotherhood.

The denominational trade, or exchange, comes even nearer getting complete unity within the church than federation does. This scheme of organization is practiced in some places where two denominations find themselves with a church each in two different communities. One denomination has the stronger church in one community, and the weaker church in the other community. Each denomination agrees to withdraw its weaker church from the community where it is located, and allows the stronger denomination to monopolize the field. This demonstrates a worthy attitude on the part of church officials higher up, and on the part of the local congregations. The churches, each in their community, are known as denominational churches, however, which is likely to be a handicap in their effort to enlist adherents of other sects in the community.

Two or more local churches of different denominations may agree to annul completely their sectarian loyalty, and form a

strictly union church; or such a union church may be organized in a community where no denomination has built a church. The difficulties which such churches have confronted in the past, are those of locating a thoroughly non-denominational minister and of finding some overhead organization through which they can participate in the larger religious programs of the world. Missionary boards are all organized on a denominational basis, and these churches find it hard to tie up with missionary endeavors.

There are numerous instances, even in the face of rampant denominational zeal, where some one denomination has developed a church in the community which is so strong that no other denomination enters the community with a church-building program. In a number of other communities, one of a number of churches has survived the test of time, and now has a monopoly in the community. The weakness of this type of church is that members adherent to other creeds do not ally themselves with the church, and particularly do not feel obligated to support it. For these churches it can probably be said, that they find little impulse for propagating sectarian doctrines and so do a fairly adequate community work.

Practically every strong rural church in America is a church of one of these types. Few rural communities will, or can, support two strong churches. Whichever of these schemes of church organization is chosen by a community, or develops in a community—and there are numerous examples of each—that community has contributed to the practical solution of the rural church problem.

An Adequate Church Leadership.—Churches need leaders of various kinds. They need pastors, church directors, or official boards, Sunday-school leaders, musical leaders, and, sometimes, leaders in recreation and club work. There is nothing that strikes the observer of the conduct of rural church affairs more forcibly than its failure to conduct even its Sunday school and church service in an expeditious and efficient manner. The members of the church board do not bring the same concern and hard-headed business judgment

and vision into church affairs that they demonstrate in their own business affairs. Sunday-school teachers are woefully weak in both knowledge and teaching technique; music leaders are few; even the pastor is not equipped for rural leadership. The adequate church must be a large enough church to challenge the best judgment and deepest concern of the official board. It must be a church of sufficient membership to have a large field from which to draw its musical and Sunday-school talent. It must conduct classes and institutes for training persons for these rôles. It must have sufficient financial support to employ a well-trained minister.

Whether the pastor should be a skilled agriculturist, in addition to being a trained church leader, is a mooted question. The author is convinced that he should be not only thoroughly rural minded, but that he should have a good knowledge of agriculture. We can scarcely expect him to be a graduate of an agricultural college in addition to being trained for religious work. Certainly he should have training in rural sociology and agricultural economics. He should be apprised of this necessity while yet in college, so that he may realize the necessity of knowing agriculture. If his training in science, history, and economics has been adequate, and he consistently reads agricultural journals and takes a deep interest in the problems of farming, he will find himself well versed and with good judgment on farming. He cannot expect to exert much influence with men who spend ninety-nine out of every hundred of their hours thinking upon these problems, if he does not have a deep appreciation of their interests and problems. He cannot get this interest in any sleight of hand way, and he cannot successfully feign such interest when he does not have it. He must know farming. He must be actually interested in soils, crops, and animals. He must be a student of farm economics and social facts and conditions. If he must have part of an agricultural education in order to get these interests, this appreciation, and this knowledge, then he must be provided with such training, for the leadership of rural life in no small way depends on him.

There are something like 100,000 ministers in America who

preach for rural churches. There is no group of men functioning in rural life with the great opportunities that these men have. The very heart of their task is to promote things that foster and build a more abundant rural life. Practically everyone who comes to listen to them speak, comes in a receptive frame of mind. They reach every age, sex, and type of person in rural life. They are supposed to be men who have had an opportunity to know the world of literature, science, history, politics, and business. They should be able to bring to the rural communities messages and visions that no other set of men can bring. The 100,000 rural preachers of America, if they were prepared with a technique and a vision of their tasks and opportunities, could re-make rural civilization in one generation.

An Adequate Rural Church Program.—The principles upon which a rural church program should be projected are:

1. That it will reach every member of the community, the aged and the young, the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, the church members and the non-church members.

2. That it will reach each class of persons on the plane of its natural and dominant interest; that it will have something that every person, no matter what his or her moral code, will see fit to use. This means it must reach the interests of farming, marketing, home affairs, community social life, recreation, education, and music.

3. That it will do whatever needs to be done to uplift the community, but never attempt to re-do something that is already being done efficiently.

4. That it will have a program which, if it were taken away, would be vitally missed by the community.

5. That it will consistently compensate the community in known values for all the contributions made to the church. This means something more than "other-worldly" religion.

6. That it will consistently work to enlist and prepare all members of the community for Christian activity.

For the church to do everything which this code of principles demands, seems to some people to be impossible, and indeed it is impossible under present rural church organiza-

tion. That the church should ever do all these things, is denied by many persons. Two simple, universally recognized truths justify every principle and every item in the program we have outlined. The church cannot perform its function to all people, if it fails to reach some of them. It cannot reach all people, unless it reaches each on the plane of his own interest. It is as futile for any agency of leadership to attempt to lead people by merely inviting them to come to it, as it is for one to try to lead a horse without going where the horse is. The task of Christianizing the rural community is not accomplished by deriding people for not heeding the preacher's invitation to come to the church. The church must be taken to the people by means of a program that reaches every fiber of the community's body and courses through the very blood of its life. If this means a program of recreation, for instance, well and good. There are three great values which will result from a recreation program: (1) Wholesome and constructive recreation is good within itself. (2) It will attract young people to the church, and lead them to know that religion deepens and enriches, rather than restricts, life. (3) It will train church leaders to know the values and potentialities resident in the buoyant life of the young people of the community.

Everything that has been said in justification of a program of recreation can be said in justification of the other types of programs demanded by the development of the body of principles which we have outlined.

It is possibly true that some churches and some ministers forget the central task of religion, because they become too dynamically interested in the program of social work and social entertainment. If systematic and practical evangelism means something more than merely getting church members, if it means the development of purposes in the lives of people and Christianizing the community as a whole, then the church should seek to cooperate with every agency which is promoting the efficiency and the welfare of the community, but it should never duplicate the machinery or program of any other agency.

OTHER RELIGIOUS AGENCIES IN RURAL LIFE

The two chief agencies of religion, other than the church, that operate to any extent in rural communities, are the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A

The Work of the Young Men's Christian Association in Rural Communities.—The Young Men's Christian Association supplements the work of the rural and village churches and does many worth-while things which it would be difficult for churches to do. It works in the open country and small towns, and confines its program to those activities which do not demand association buildings or any elaborate outlay of equipment. The organization is a combination of volunteer effort and expert leadership. The country secretary is a college graduate, usually of the finest type; generally he has been a leader in religious, social, and athletic activities while at college. Back of him he has a county committee of fifteen or twenty business men and farmers. These business men and farmers are assigned to subcommittees and local communities to help formulate the policies and promote the activities of the association. The association work is carried on upon the basis of community units. A local community leader is appointed, who assists the boys in all their activities and acts as a teacher of Bible lessons.

The local community units meet in county meetings, athletic contests, banquets, and often in summer camps. The work is carried on in a number of counties and communities in the United States. The budget runs from $2,000 to $6,000 per county, and is secured annually by voluntary subscriptions.

The program of the association is never carried on in competition with church programs. The secretary works with the Sunday schools and churches, and encourages all his association boys to participate in church activities. Many times he is able to eliminate religious strife in the community. In addition to, or as a part of, the religious program, the country Y. M. C. A. promotes athletics and recreation programs. Many a country boy, otherwise robbed of the pleasure and values

of athletic experience, is given the opportunity to participate in field meets, basket ball, baseball, and volley ball tournaments. The association promotes health practices and teaches health habits. In some of the larger and better-supported associations, an additional athletic director is employed. In some cases, traveling picture shows circulate from one community to another. The association does anything and everything which encourages self-improvement, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual well-being, among young men and boys in small towns and rural districts.

The country work is a definite branch of the national association work. Above the counties are district organizations and district secretaries; above the districts are state organizations; and above the state organizations and secretaries is the national organization. The great summer conferences at Hollister, Missouri; Estes Park, Colorado; Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and Blue Ridge, North Carolina, give as much time and effort to country work as to other branches of the national work.

The Young Women's Christian Association.—The work of the Y. W. C. A. is not as widespread in rural communities as is that of the Y. M. C. A. The general purposes and principles of their activities are the same as those of the Y. M. C. A. They have county secretaries and county committees, and work without buildings and equipment. Their slogan is "members, not equipment." They conduct community, county, state, and national programs. They carry on recreational, health, and religious programs. A national town and country conference has been held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, for the last seven years. The attendance at the conference in 1919 was 234.

In addition to the systematic country work, the Y. W. C. A. conducts Eight Week Club training, given in cooperation with student committees from colleges. During the summer of 1919, 250 Eight Week Clubs were carried on.

Summer camps, reading clubs, Bible classes, pageants, health exercises, and recreation programs constitute the work

of the Y. W. C. A. in rural communities.[1] It is needless to say that this type of work can well be accepted as a part of an adequate Rural Religious Program.

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CHAPTER XII

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL EDUCATION

THE FIELD AND FUNCTION OF RURAL EDUCATION

The Problem of Rural Education.—The problems of rural education are much greater in scope and magnitude than merely the problems of the rural school. The task of teaching little children is not the sole task of education. Nor is the school the sole agency of teaching. The agencies of education consist of all technologies, or techniques, by means of which ideas and experiences are transmitted from one person to another. Persons learned long before there were schools. Schools are merely apt and well-organized pieces of social machinery by means of which the experiences of other generations are laid at the feet of each oncoming generation. As a matter of fact, they play a relatively small part in the total learning process of humanity. A child who enters the grade school at the age of six years, attends regularly for eight months out of the year, and completes the elementary or primary grades in eight years will have spent only about 6 per cent of his waking hours in school. During all his remaining waking hours, the child will have been learning, guided most of the time by stimuli other than those furnished by the school course of study. The greatest educational fallacy in the world is the belief, or assumption, that education consists of a set of learned categories, pyramided one on the other, from the a b c's to graduation from college. Education consists in the learning process. The learning process, whether in school or elsewhere, consists in making adaptations and adjustments to, and utilizations of, the real conditions and circumstances of life. It is, therefore, the process of learning, the adaptations and adjustments, and the condi-

tions and circumstances of life that are important, not merely the school categories.

Rural education, of whatever kind, is cast in the midst of the circumstances of farming and farm life. The greater majority of those born in the open country are reared there, and live out their lives in that environment. Every rural person, however, is more than a citizen of his local community. He is a member of the Great Society. There is no reason why he should not have his life enriched by the history, art, and literature of all ages. Furthermore, the coming of scientific and commercial agriculture demands that the modern farmer use the large bodies of scientific and business knowledge that are a part of the modern process of all civilized life. The problem of rural education is the problem of learning to work, earn, live, and enjoy life, for the most part, though not altogether, in the open country.

Agencies of Rural Education.—Rural education, like all education, is generally thought of merely in terms of educational institutions. To narrow the discussion of rural education to a consideration of the rural school, would be as foolish as to narrow the field of ideas to a consideration of books, merely because books contain ideas. The problem of the rural school is not comprehensive of the numerous problems of rural education; much less is the rural school the sole agent of rural education. The agencies of rural education range all the way from the agricultural college to rural social family gatherings.

Some appreciation of the vast differences between mere agricultural education, the rural school, and a complete rural education may be obtained by listing the numerous agencies which are working in the field of rural education, many of which are not directly concerned at all with vocational training or with the rural school. Such a list would include the rural grade school, the high school, the farm life or agricultural school, the agricultural college and university, the agricultural press, the country weekly, other newspapers and magazines, bulletins of the United States Department of Agriculture, bulletins of State Departments of Agriculture, books,

demonstration agents and other extension experts, public lectures—Chautauqua, lyceums, pulpit, etc.—and rural libraries, rural fairs, rural life conferences, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., health, recreational, and other civic organizations. It must be clear that neither the agricultural college nor the rural grade school has a monopoly on the function or programs of rural education.

There is such a vast difference between the problems of the rural school as an educational institution and the function, purpose, and program of rural education itself, that we shall leave the problems of the rural school for separate treatment. In this chapter, we shall discuss the other agencies of education which operate in rural communities for the benefit of farm people. We shall consider as agencies those which operate with a consistent program, the purpose of which is to help farm people to make a progressive adjustment to the changing circumstances of life. This broad definition is stated, because it is conceived that a program of rural education is incomplete which is not projected on the basis of comprehending the whole of rural life.

Agricultural Education and Rural Education.—Queer as it may seem, there has never been any confusion between that type of education which is designed to prepare men for the occupation of agriculture, and that type which is promoted by rural schools. Indeed, the two have been so vastly different in their organization, conduct, and purpose, that it is well to raise the question as to whether they might not be more closely connected, or at least might not borrow something from each other with profit. Everyone has understood agricultural education to be specific training for the occupation of farming. Everyone has seemed equally to understand rural education to be that type of education which is obtained in the rural grade schools. Agricultural education has, until very recently, consisted of courses in technical agriculture—Soils, Crops, Animal Husbandry, Horticulture, etc.—and the basic sciences necessary to the understanding and analysis of these technical factors, *i.e.,* Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, and Physics. Generally, the agricultural college

curricula have also contained courses in English, Mathematics, and sometimes other so-called liberal and disciplinary courses. Recently the college authorities have seen the desirability, and even the necessity, of training both men and women for all-around efficient living on the farm. Some of them even give promise of recognizing the desirability of training these students for a well-rounded life in every way. To this end, they have not only added courses in those social sciences, which are strictly rural in nature, and other less technically agricultural vocational courses, but have in some cases added even History, Literature, Modern Languages, General Economic and Commercial courses, and, furthermore, have developed extension divisions by means of which they are carrying education directly to the farm.

With the expanding, or at least the liberalizing, of the agricultural college curricula on the one hand, and the pushing back of the training for the vocation of agriculture into the secondary schools and even into the grade schools on the other hand, there has come to be a closer relationship between agricultural education and rural education. For a number of years there have been, here and there, agricultural high schools. Since the passing of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Bill, there have developed hundreds of these Farm Life Schools.

THE RURAL PRESS

Agricultural Journals and Periodicals.—Because farm journals are commercial enterprises, they are seldom thought of as agencies of education. When, however, we learn that the circulation of agricultural journals in the United States is over fifteen millions, we must recognize them as agencies with powerful educational value to rural people. It is impossible to know exactly, but it is the author's opinion that agricultural journals are read by at least one-half of the farm entrepreneurs of the nation. There are probably 500 farmers, who get their scientific knowledge from farm papers, to every one who gets this knowledge from colleges of agri-

culture. This was particularly true before the modern development of the elaborate extension services of the agricultural colleges. A college with 1,000 students studying agriculture is an institution of great proportions and great educational importance to farmers. There are thirty-seven farm journals published in the United States with over 100,000 circulation each, ten with over 300,000, six with over 500,000, and one with over 1,000,000 circulation.[1]

Of course there are thousands of these papers circulated that are not read; and thousands of their pages are taken up with commercial advertisements. But there are thousands of them that are read and accepted as official manuals and guide books by hundreds of thousands of American farmers. These journals are generally edited by men whose advice is sound, and who write in a language which is easily understood by the farmer. Furthermore, the information which they give is current and up to date.

Some appreciation of the type of men who edit these papers is gained by remembering that each of the Secretaries of Agriculture, in the cabinets of the last two presidents, was the editor of an agricultural journal. No official state or national agricultural conference of any importance is held, but that a goodly number of agricultural editors are called into council. There is not a section of the nation which does not number one or more editors of powerful agricultural journals among its leaders of rural progress. There are individual editors of agricultural journals, whose influence has been more potent in agricultural leadership in the area where their papers circulate than the combined influence of any three agricultural colleges. There are thousands of farmers who value the advice of these editors above that of any other person, agency, or institution. Because this is true, we must name the agricultural press as one of the most potent of all the agencies of rural education.

One of the chief criticisms of agricultural colleges is that they must necessarily organize their teaching into, and administer it through, established curricula. Once the courses are

[1] *1922 American Newspaper Directory*, N. W. Ayer and Son, Philadelphia.

set in these curricula, and the subject matter prescribed for the courses, they, like all other institutional phenomena, tend to crystallize. As a result, agricultural colleges often find themselves from five to fifteen years tardy in attacking pertinent agricultural problems. The agricultural journals are more flexible. Consequently, they have been the first to begin instructing farmers in agricultural engineering, farm management, veterinary science, farm marketing, rural social problems, diversified farming, and even many phases of scientific production. Furthermore, they cover a much wider range of instruction than do the agricultural colleges. Farm journals give information on health and sanitation, good roads, recreation, religion, and home and community organizations—subjects which agricultural colleges seem not to have recognized to any great extent as essential or valuable to farmers. Their editorial pages are often filled with discussion of civic affairs. They present stories, poems, and pictures which seek to idealize farm life. Indeed, the prime function and accepted rôle of the agricultural journal is the guidance of the rural dweller into a well-rounded knowledge of his occupation, and a deep appreciation of farm life.

Agricultural journals, with their eminence and wide clientele, could be more potent agencies of rural education and more powerful leaders of rural progress than they are. Their failure to appreciate the comparative importance of certain rural-life issues is indicated in the table of facts on the following page.

This table gives an analysis of the type of education these papers are conducting. These eight papers happen to represent about 10 per cent of the total circulation of all the agricultural journals of the nation. An analysis of twenty different journals, during the years 1919 and 1920, gives almost the same percentages that appear in the above table. The chief exceptions are that some of the papers of the earlier study are specialized—fruit, dairy, and breeders' papers. Consequently the per cent of space given to technical production ran higher, and the subjects of cooperation and marketing were being given more attention and space at the later period.

TABLE 32. AN ANALYSIS OF SPACE OF AGRICULTURAL JOURNALS GIVEN TO DIFFERENT FARM SUBJECTS

Papers	Technical Production, Per Cent	Fiction and Nature Study, Per Cent	Marketing, Per Cent	Home and Family, Per Cent	Cooperation Other Than Marketing, Per Cent	Citizenship and Politics, Per Cent	Education and School, Per Cent	Social News and Social Contacts, Per Cent	Agricultural Engineering, Per Cent	Health and Sanitation, Per Cent	Transportation and Communication, Per Cent	Recreation, Per Cent	Labor, Per Cent	Religion and Church, Per Cent	Total Space Other Than Advertising, Inches	County to Court Advertising, Inches	Town to Community Advertising, Inches	County to Town Advertising, Inches	Self-Advertising, Inches	Total Advertising Space, Inches	Total Space, Inches.
A	18.6	12.6	3.2	3.2	4.5	1.9	1.18	4.38	2.02	2.1	1.1	.00	.24	.06	54.4	14.6	30.3	.28	.24	45.5	100
B	20.7	4.24	8.1	5.16	.33	1.4	1.6	.08	.03	.49	.00	.07	.00	.42	42.8	12.4	42.5	.00	2.6	57.1	100
C	26.4	1.14	7.63	3.7	4.1	.93	1.68	.00	1.17	.76	.08	.00	.09	.00	47.7	11.8	32.7	4.4	3.9	52.1	100
D	6.5	1.5	10.5	4.4	3.8	3.00	.78	1.1	2.4	.82	.52	1.07	.02	.03	37.34	18.1	43.9	.00	.56	62.6	100
E	17.5	4.1	3.7	.96	7.07	2.1	.00	.00	.54	.00	.59	.11	.00	.09	36.8	13.5	49.04	.00	.00	62.7	100
F	11.4	7.76	3.2	4.3	1.58	2.08	1.8	1.2	.66	.93	.9	.2	.09	.3	36.9	20.5	42.7	.15	.4	63.9	100
G	20.6	1.5	4.2	3.6	2.3	2.1	5.1	.00	.8	.5	.12	.00	.59	.00	42.9	8.3	47.9	.66	.18	57.9	100
H	16.3	6.24	1.28	4.9	2.8	3.42	4.16	.89	.17	.56	1.6	.53	.00	.59	44.7	1.4	52.6	.00	1.29	55.2	100
Per cent of total space	16.7	6.2	5.4	3.9	3.2	2.02	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.05	.7	.3	.17	.13	44.8	13.2	40.7	.4	.8	55.1	100
Per cent of total space other than advertising	37.3	13.6	12.05	8.7	7.1	4.5	4.2	3.5	2.9	2.3	1.6	.67	.38	.29	100						

These percentages were obtained by measuring the column inches of sixteen consecutive issues of each of these papers during 1921. These are general agricultural journals chosen from all sections of the United States. These eight papers represent about 10 per cent of the total circulation of all the agricultural journals of the country.

Improvement could be made in the value of the agricultural journals as agencies in rural life building by giving more space to the institutional phases of farm life. In the study of the eight journals presented in the table, and in the previous study of twenty papers, they were shown to be giving to each institution (to the rural home, the rural church, the rural school, and rural recreation) less than an average of 1 per cent of their total space. They were giving but little over 1 per cent of their total news and editorial space to each institution. Farm-labor problems did not receive 1 per cent of the total space of any paper in either study. The relative importance given to the different items discussed in these papers, as indicated by the relative amount of news and editorial space given by them to different subjects, was: (1) technical production, (2) fiction and nature study, (3) marketing, (4) home and family, (5) cooperation other than marketing, (6) citizenship and politics, (7) education and schools, (8) social news and social contacts, (9) agricultural engineering, (10) health and sanitation, (11) transportation and communication, (12) recreation, and (13) labor.

A questionnaire submitted to over one hundred students of rural life and agriculture, and teachers in the agricultural colleges of three institutions of higher learning representing three distinct sections of the nation, ranked these same thirteen problems according to their importance in rural life in the following sequence: (1) education and schools, (2) home and family, (3) technical production, (4) marketing, (5) cooperation other than marketing, (6) health and sanitation, (7) church and religion, (8) transportation and communication, (9) recreation, (10) labor problems, (11) citizenship and politics, (12) agricultural engineering, and (13) fiction and nature study. This combined judgment of nearly one hundred students of the problems of agriculture is by no means an absolute criterion of the educational need of farm communities, nor is it possible to establish any such criterion. It is presented here, simply to give a comparison, which makes possible a better understanding of the type of material the

agricultural journals are using. We should keep in mind that the agricultural press is practically always a commercial enterprise, and must be conducted with an eye to business. Nevertheless, measure it by any accepted method, and we must appraise it as a universal and potent agency of rural education.

The Country Weekly.—There were 14,622 weekly papers published in the United States in 1922.[1] This is about 1,500 fewer than were published two years previous. The country weekly is without doubt a powerful agency of rural education. Its significance is, however, rapidly diminishing, because of the competition of the now easily available daily paper.

It is probably a safe estimate to say that over one-half of the weekly newspapers of the nation are "country weeklies."[2] Practically every town of 1,000 inhabitants has a newspaper. Hundreds of towns with yet smaller populations have weekly papers. Most towns have only one weekly newspaper. In such cases, this one paper is very likely to have almost a complete monopoly of its own town constituency and the constituency of the immediately adjacent rural territory. These country papers are not called upon to perform many functions, which they at one time served, since the advent of the city daily and national magazines into the country home. The country paper cannot compete with these powerful rivals as dispensers of world news, as agencies for circulating national advertisement, or in editorial erudition. It used to be the chief function of these small papers to relay the world's news from the great dailies, magazines, and other metropolitan sources out into the country. Today, people take the dailies themselves. Whenever, therefore, the weekly is trying only to reflect the news and ideas presented in the greater papers, it is little read. Country people, like all the others, want the news while it is hot.

Horace Greeley, a long while ago, laid down, in a letter

[1] *1922 American Newspaper Directory,* N. W. Ayer and Son, Philadelphia.
[2] Bing estimates about 10,000 in 1920, Bing, P. C., *The Country Weekly,* p. 3, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1920.

to a prospective country editor, an apt creed for a country newspaper. He said:

> Begin with the clear conception that the subject of deepest interest to an average human being is himself; next to that he is most concerned about his neighbors. Asia and the Congo stand a long way after these in his regard. . . . Do not let a new church be organized, or new members be added to one already existing, a farm be sold, a new house be raised, a mill be set in motion, a store be opened, or anything of interest to a dozen families occur without having the fact duly, though briefly, chronicled in your columns. If a farmer cuts a big tree, or grows a mammoth beet, or harvests a bounteous yield of wheat or corn, set forth the fact as concisely and unexceptionally as possible. . . . In short, make your paper a perfect mirror of everything done in your county that your citizens ought to know.[1]

The country weekly today ought to be distinctly a rural community service agency. It is no longer read by anyone except the small-town and open-country dwellers. It does, however, circulate more universally among these persons than and other type of publication. Its opportunity for influence is not only more universal than any other type of publication, but is as great as any other rural agency or institution except the rural home, and possibly the rural school. It must discover a new niche, however, or gradually become of less importance. People within the circumference of its circulation read it for certain community values which it still has. It behooves the publishers and editors of these papers to find these values and magnify them, and to discover new values and develop them. A detailed study of 243 country weeklies in Missouri and 73 in North Carolina discovered the following facts:

1. These 243 papers contained 205,588 total column inches of space.

2. Of the 205,558 column inches contained in these papers, almost exactly 75 per cent were materials of strictly local interest. The other 25 per cent was made up of national,

[1] Quoted from Bing, P. C., *The Country Weekly*, pp. 17-18

syndicate, boiler plate, patent inside, fiction, and clipped materials.

3. Of all space given to local materials, 73.4 per cent was given to town interests, and 26.6 per cent was given to strictly rural interests.

4. As the size of the town increased in which these papers were published, a decreasing per cent of the local space was given to strictly local material.

5. Of the total editorial space, 69.49 per cent was given to local editorials.

6. Ninety-two per cent of all local editorial space was given to town interests, and 7.3 per cent to rural interests.

7. Only 38.56 per cent of the total news space was given to local news. The remaining 61.74 per cent was given to national news, syndicate news, clipped news, patent insides, and boiler plate.

8. Of the local news 82.2 per cent was town news, and only 17.8 per cent was country news.

9. Of the total advertising space, 77.8 per cent was given to local advertising.

10. Of all local advertising, 68.9 per cent was town, and 31.1 per cent was country advertising. By country advertising, was meant advertisement of goods to be bought or sold mainly by country people.

11. The smallest per cent of total space was given to editorials, in the case of those papers that had 25 per cent or less of their circulation in the country, and the greatest per cent in the case of those that had over 75 per cent of their circulation in the country.

12. The per cent of total space given to news was very much less in the case of those papers that had 25 per cent, or less, of their circulation in the open country. It increased steadily as the per cent of circulation going to the country increased.

13. The percentage of local news, which was strictly country news, was only 15.2 per cent. It was greatest (16.4 per cent) in the case of those having from 51 to 75 per cent of

country circulation, and much the lowest in the case of those papers having 25 per cent or less of country circulation.

Slightly less than 60 per cent of these papers had over 50 per cent of their circulation in country homes, and slightly over 60 per cent of the total reading space went to country homes. This fact, plus the fact that almost 93 per cent of them were published in towns of 4,000 population or less, makes these weekly papers almost wholly country papers. The editors of these papers have come to recognize the fact that they are local papers, as is indicated by the fact that over 60 per cent of their total space is given to local interests. They have not yet come to recognize that they are almost completely country papers, as is indicated by the fact that less than 20 per cent of their total local space is given to country interests. This is the chief cause of the lack of vitality among country newspapers, and the chief criticism of them as agencies of country service and rural progress.

If the country weekly is to survive, if it is to perform the function which it alone can perform, it must become rural, even agricultural, in its vision, content, and purpose. It will continue to be published in small towns, but small towns are a part of country communities. These country communities—small towns, and their surrounding open country districts—need some agency to make them community conscious. The local paper can most aptly do this. Its editorials must be rural-community-civic editorials. Its news must be local rural community news. Its advertisement columns must be largely local community service columns. This means that country weeklies need to be a combination of newspapers and agricultural journals. They need to tie up with the county and home demonstration agents, the county superintendents of schools, the county superintendents of public welfare, county health officials, rural church and community programs, technical agricultural interests, good roads movements, and, in fact, with every other thing which is of vital concern to rural people and which needs editorial support, news reporting, or advertising. To what extent these papers are doing these good things is likely to be overlooked, because of our

criticism of their weaknesses. To magnify and multiply their service to rural communities is their field and task. When they do this, their thousands of weekly issues and hundreds of thousands of weekly pages will constitute dynamic agencies for rural education.

READING MATERIAL IN RURAL HOMES

Types of Rural Home Reading Materials.—The types of reading materials generally found in farm homes include, in addition to the two types just discussed in detail, daily papers, religious papers, national periodicals, books, and bulletins. It would be impossible, by merely checking the frequency of their appearance in the homes, to calculate which of these types of literature has the greatest influence on the people. Even if we could ascertain these facts, we would not yet have a measure of the comparative influence of the different types. Since, however, each type of reading material is a potential agency of education, we shall attempt to give some understanding of each, and its significance to rural dwellers. A number of surveys have been made, which have gathered information concerning the types and amount of reading materials found in rural homes. Probably altogether too much is said about the comparative paucity of reading material found in country homes. Only one limited survey has been made, which discovered and set forth a comparison between country and town homes in this respect.[1] This study showed that the amount of current reading materials found in homes of farmers, and in the homes of a small town, is about the same. It is probable that the average farm home reading materials rank far above those of the average city day laborer; compare favorably with that of the city business man, but rank below that of the professional man.

The following series of tables is given as representative of the best information available on reading materials in farm homes. The first three tables are from studies of typical well-

[1] RANKIN, J. O., "Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes," *Bulletin* No. 180, Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1922.

to-do mid-western farm communities. The fourth table is from a study of a mid-western community made up chiefly of tenant and hired-man families. The last table is from a study of three Southern farm communities.

There are unquestionably thousands of farm communities and hundreds of thousands of farm homes that have more and better reading material than any of these tables show. A survey of forty homes in Ashland Community, Howard County, Missouri, discovered that there was an average of

TABLE 34.—READING MATERIAL IN 107 NEBRASKA FARM HOMES[1]

	All Homes		Owners		Tenants	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total number	107		41		66	
Take newspaper	107	100	41	100	66	100
Take farm paper	106	99.1	40	97.5	66	100
Get books from library	28	26.4	17	41.4	11	16.6

TABLE 35.—THE NUMBER OF BOOKS IN THE HOMES OF 306 CENTRAL MISSOURI FARMERS[1]

Number of Books	Owner		Tenant	
	Number of Homes	Per Cent	Number of Homes	Per Cent
No books at all	16	6.69	9	13.43
1 through 25 books	75	31.38	19	28.35
26 through 50 books	43	18.00	17	25.37
51 through 100 books	41	17.15	9	13.43
101 through 200 books	20	8.36	3	4.48
201 through 300 books	28	11.71	6	8.96
301 through 500 books	6	2.51	4	5.95
501 through 750 books	4	1.67	0	0.00
750 through 1,000 books	6	2.51	0	0.00
Total	239	99.98	67	99.97

[1] Data from unpublished manuscript by author.

TABLE 36.—THE NUMBER OF PAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND BULLETINS IN HOMES OF 306 CENTRAL MISSOURI FARMERS[1]

Class of Publication	Owner			Tenant		
	Number Received	Average per Family	Per Cent not Getting	Number Received	Average per Family	Per Cent not Getting
Daily newspapers	332	1.37	16.6	71	1.04	25.37
Weekly newspapers	328	1.37	32.2	71	1.04	49.25
Religious papers	133	.55	69.8	71	1.04	34.32
Farm papers	403	1.65	28.4	19	.27	73.12
Magazines	248	1.03	50.2	83	1.20	35.82
Agricultural Bulletins	100[2]		59.1	19[2]		71.16

TABLE 37.—READING MATERIALS IN THE HOMES OF FARM FAMILIES IN A SOUTHEAST MISSOURI COMMUNITY[1]

Types of Material	41 Owners		180 Tenants		29 Croppers		179 Hired Men	
	Total Having	Per Cent Having	Total Having	Per Cent Having	Total Having	Per Cent Having	Total Having	Per Cent Having
Daily papers	23	56.1	62	34.4	2	6.9	8	4.5
Weekly papers	30	73.1	121	67.2	8	27.6	47	26.4
Religious papers	11	26.8	27	15.00	0	0.0	10	5.61
Farm papers	36	87.8	125	69.4	10	34.5	52	29.2
Weekly magazines	13	31.7	38	21.1	3	10.3	16	8.9
Monthly magazines	20	48.8	53	29.4	7	24.1	31	17.4
United States Department of Agriculture Bulletins	14	34.1	32	17.8	1	3.4	0	0.0
Missouri Department of Agriculture bulletins	11	26.8	21	11.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
College of Agriculture bulletins	9	21.9	21	11.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Health bulletins	1	2.4	6	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Having none	1	2.4	21	11.7	15	51.8	91	51.1

[1] Data from study made by author (unpublished).

[2] Means only that this many families get some agricultural bulletins. No information was gotten as to the frequency of receipt of bulletins.

117.5 books and seven newspapers and magazines per home. One of these homes had a library of 634 books, and another had a library of 500 books. Nine of them had libraries of over 250 books each. One family took sixteen periodicals and newspapers. Two families, who subscribed for their magazines in common, had twenty-seven different periodicals coming into their homes. These homes averaged forty-seven and five-tenths volumes of fiction, seven of history, four and three-tenths of agriculture, four and two-tenths of religion,

TABLE 38.—TYPES OF BOOKS IN HOMES OF FARM FAMILIES IN A SOUTHEASTERN MISSOURI COMMUNITY[1]

Type of Book	41 Owners		180 Tenants		29 Croppers		179 Hired Men	
	Total Having	Per Cent Having	Total Having	Per Cent Having	Total Having	Per Cent Having	Total Having	Per Cent Having
Religious	41	100.0	160	88.9	24	82.8	143	80.3
Agriculture	22	53.6	44	24.4	1	3.4	14	7.9
History	25	60.9	60	33.3	4	13.8	38	21.3
Fiction	15	36.6	48	26.7	3	10.3	33	18.4
Children's	17	41.4	43	23.9	1	8.4	26	14.7
Others	16	39.0	77	42.8	10	34.5	80	44.9
Having none	0	0.0	5	2.8	4	13.8	26	14.7

TABLE 39.—PER CENT OF FAMILIES WHO BORROW BOOKS IN THREE TYPICAL NORTH CAROLINA FARM COUNTIES[1]

Region	Operator Landlords		Owner Operators		Tenants		Croppers	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Coastal Plain	25.0	.....	5.0	20.0	15.6	.....	6.9	.....
Piedmont	8.6	.....	6.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mountain	20.3	.....	27.8	.....	12.7	.....	7.9	.....
Total	17.7	.....	19.8	2.33	11.2	.....	6.2	.....

[1] Unpublished studies made by the author.

TABLE 40.—KIND OF BOOKS IN HOMES IN THREE TYPICAL NORTH CAROLINA FARM FAMILIES[1]

Group	Land Owners	Land-less	White	Black	All
Per cent religious	14.0	6.5	13.3	7.4	12.4
Per cent agricultural	1.3	2.9	1.9	0.4	1.6
Per cent fiction	19.4	16.7	19.8	8.4	18.8
Per cent children's	22.1	32.8	20.7	49.2	24.4
Per cent others	43.2	41.1	44.3	34.6	42.8

three and nine-tenths of science, two of health, and one of war. The only two homes in the community that did not have real home libraries were those of two foreign tenants. One of these had no books, and the other had only children's school books.[2] This community stands as far at one extreme in the Middle West, as the North Carolina or Southeast Missouri community does at the other extreme.

Some of the most outstanding generalizations which can be deduced from this series of tables are as follows:

1. That the most prevalent type of current reading materials found in farm homes are agricultural or farm journals. The second most prevalent type is daily papers, although the dailies are outranked by the weeklies in the Southeast Missouri community. The third most prevalent type is the country weekly, and the fourth most prevalent type is the magazine.

2. Farm owners universally have a greater volume and greater diversity of reading materials in their homes than do farmers of any other tenure status.

3. The farm families in the Southern communities have less reading materials of all kinds in their homes than do those of the Middle West.

4. Practically no health bulletins or agricultural bulletins

[1] TAYLOR, CARL C. and ZIMMERMAN, C. C., *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina*, North Carolina State College, North Carolina, 1922.

[2] TAYLOR, CARL C. and LEHMANN, E. W., *An Economic Social and Sanitary Survey of Ashland Community, Howard County, Missouri*, Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbia, Missouri, 1920.

are found in the homes of the farmers of the lower tenure status.

5. Tenant, cropper, and hired-man farm families fall much further below farm owners in book equipment than they do in current reading materials.

No attempt has been made, in any of these studies, to ascertain which type of home reading materials is most universally and constantly read by farm folk. It is impossible even to judge reading habits altogether by presence of books in rural homes. Many times a family library is an accumulation of a number of generations, and thus sometimes the most prevalent type of books in the home library is not the type most used. Religious, health, history, and war books are often more the results of book agents' zeal than they are the results of some person's craving for these types of literature. Some indication, however, has been gotten of the types of books read and desired by rural persons. O. S. Rice of the State Superintendent's office of Wisconsin found, from a survey of books in 150 Wisconsin high schools, that there was very little difference between country and city boys in the preference of books. All the books chosen by both city and country boys were fiction.[1]

The author made a direct study of 1,809 of the books which were circulated in rural communities by the North Carolina Library Commission in 1921. These unit boxed libraries had circulated in sixty-one different communities, been read by people of all ages, and offered practically every legitimate type of book which one would want to read. The following table presents the finding of that study:

The following conclusions are warranted from facts revealed in all of these studies of rural reading materials:

1. That daily, weekly, and farm papers are becoming almost universal in farm homes.

2. That practically every farm home has some sort of a library.

3. That owners almost universally have better reading

[1] Dudgeon, M. S., "The Rural Book Hunger," *Rural Manhood,* Vol. VI, p. 303, September, 1915.

TABLE 41.—FREQUENCE OF USE OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF BOOKS

Type of Book[1]	Number of Books in Circulation	Per Cent of Total in Circulation	Times Read	Per Cent of Total Read
Fiction	938	46.3	2,630	51.4
Children's books	624	34.4	1,730	33.7
History	149	8.2	350	6.8
Useful arts	75	4.1	129	2.3
Philosophy	28	1.5	69	1.3
Sociology	30	1.6	58	1.4
Literature (Poetry etc.)	19	1.05	35	.65
Fine arts	13	.71	32	.62
Religion	9	.49	31	.60
General works	12	.66	28	.54
Natural science	12	.66	24	.47

[1] That the preference of books read was dictated somewhat by the numbers of different types of books presented, we do not doubt. The Commission works on an experimental basis, however, and aims to supply whatever demand is made for legitimate books.

equipment than tenants, and tenants better than croppers and hired men.

4. That the number of books, papers, and magazines that are in the home are in direct proportion to the amount of education the farmers and farmers' wives have.

5. That farm people use books readily if given an opportunity.

6. That their choice of books is perfectly normal and healthy in every way.

This final conclusion is not apparent in any of the tables presented, but was found to be correct whenever the facts were checked. Some additional information will be presented on the topic of reading material in farm homes in the section on rural libraries.

The Rural Library.—The books made available for public use by the recent establishment of public libraries are not utilized by rural people in the degree that they are by city people. All of the great public libraries are located in great cities. Recently the public library movement has spread to smaller cities and rural towns. These libraries are quite universal now in towns of 10,000 population, and hundreds of

county seats with from 2,000 to 5,000 population have them. Nevertheless, only 794 out of the 2,964 rural counties in the United States have, within their borders, a public library of 5,000 volumes or more. The libraries, other than those of their homes, from which rural people draw books are, those of other families, public school libraries, Sunday-school and church libraries, commercial libraries, state, county, and township circulating libraries, and nearby town libraries.

If books can be purchased by some common fund and circulated through some common medium, they will be read by many times more people than if they depend upon individuals, who would read them but once after purchasing them. Without doubt, the greatest thing that could be done to encourage wider reading among rural people would be to develop adequate and well-located public libraries. Dudgeon, in an article entitled "The Rural Book Hunger," presents a rather dark picture of such a need.[1] On the other hand, there are some very bright sides, discovered in the facts concerning the use, by rural people, of such library facilities as are available to them. Vogt says that nearly 100,000 volumes per year are circulated from the Brumbark Library, Van Wert County, Ohio. The free public library at Stockton, California, serves thirty communities and twenty-two school districts with free books. The main library has a rural circulation of 6,281 volumes.[2] Dudgeon says that in three rural homes without a book in them, sixteen out of seventeen of the children had read books from traveling libraries, and that these sixteen had read sixty-one books from the library.

The North Carolina Library Commission circulated 11,047 books, and the cards showed 2,000,000 book loans in ninety-six counties in 1921. The number had increased 181 per cent in two years. In the Southeast Missouri Community, referred to above, which was almost wholly a tenant-cropper hired man community, 36 per cent of the owners, 22 per cent of the tenants, 8 per cent of the hired men and 7 per cent of the crop-

[1] Dudgeon, M. S., "The Rural Book Hunger," *Rural Manhood,* Vol. VI, p. 303, September, 1915.

[2] "The Library at Your Door," *Farm Journal,* Nov. 22, 1921.

pers borrowed books from neighboring school or town libraries.

The American Library Association has taken for its slogan "Books for everybody." Its purpose is to extend its service to rural districts. It is now raising a fund of $2,000,000 to establish better library facilities for country people. It is already operating "libraries on wheels"—in wagons and trucks—in a number of isolated rural communities.

Iowa has a library of 50,000 books for the use of country people. A number of other states also operate library service for rural people. Wisconsin expends about $6,500 per year on rural school libraries. This money is raised by taxation. The same is true of Nebraska. The county library is also developing. Garfield County, Oklahoma, appropriated $2,000 in 1921 to start a county library. The county library should, and will, follow the path of progress mapped out by the good roads, Rural Free Delivery, demonstration agents, and consolidated schools. Indeed each of these will be an agency to promote the library movement. What is needed is a system of school, community, township, county, and state libraries supported by public taxation; liberal concession from the post office department by way of rates on circulating books, and a deeper appreciation of the educational value of all kinds of literature.

EXTENSION EDUCATION

Education through Demonstration.—The greatest piece of technical agricultural education work being done in the United States is that of the farm and home demonstration agents and agricultural extension workers. This work is logically, and generally actually, a part of the extension work of the colleges of agriculture. Because it has not universally been tied up with the colleges, because it is cooperatively supported by the federal government, the states and the counties, and because there is some slight indication that it may come to be supported in part or totally by organized farmer groups themselves, it is discussed as an agency in itself. From the

viewpoint of the College of Agriculture, the demonstration work is extension teaching. From the viewpoint of the farmer, it is practical farm experimentation toward the production of better farming methods in local communities.

As a result of the great need for farm efficiency which had existed during the World War, demonstration work reached the peak of its development in 1918-1919. As a systematic scheme of rural education, it was started in Kaufman County, Texas, in 1903 under the guidance of Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, and under the direction of the United States Department of Agriculture. During the fiscal year of 1918-1919 there were more than 2,400 men agents and almost 2,000 women agents in demonstration work. Almost four-fifths of the agricultural counties of the nation had men agents and almost two-thirds of them had women agents. Funds appropriated by the federal, state, and county units reached the total of $15,671,000 for that year. Nearly 3,000,000 men and women and 2,000,000 boys and girls were enlisted in the work. The number of agents has diminished since that time and the government has withdrawn some of the funds. Local funds have so nearly replaced them, however, that the annual expenditure per year at this time (1922) is still almost $15,000,000.[1]

The function and method of demonstration work can probably be set forth best by a quotation from its originator, Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. Dr. Knapp said: [2]

> The Farmers' Demonstration work may be regarded as a method of increasing farm crops and as logically the first step toward true uplift, or it may be considered a system of rural education for boys and adults by which a readjustment of country life can be effected and placed upon a higher plane of profit, comfort, culture, influence, and power.

W. W. Finley, former president of the Southern Railroad, in an address at the State Teachers' Association of South Carolina, in 1912, said:

[1] MARTIN, O. B., *The Demonstration Work,* pp. 102-182, Stratford Company, Boston, 1921.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 53.

Splendid as have been the results of Dr. Knapp's cooperative farm demonstration work, I believe that by far the most important thing he ever undertook was the inauguration of the Boys' Corn Club Work. The immediate and primary effect of this work is seen not only in the records of the large yields made by individual members of the Boys' Corn Clubs throughout the South, but in the increasing yield per acre in all the states resulting from the stimulation of interest in the best cultural methods and in seed selection. If the Boys' Corn Clubs had done nothing more, their records would stand as an imperishable monument to the memory of Dr. Knapp. But in my opinion the most important results are not in the raising of corn, but in the raising of farmers. They are essentially agricultural schools. The boy who hopes to make creditable showing or a record-breaking crop, and to do so by methods that will yield a profitable margin over the cost of production, must be a student. The members of the Boys' Corn Clubs not only acquire theoretical and practical knowledge as to the best methods of growing corn, but I believe that their work in these clubs tends to imbue them with a thirst for knowledge and that they will grow up into scientific and progressive farmers, whose work will lift the standard of agriculture throughout the nation.[1]

This rather elaborate quotation is given to set forth the educational significance of just one small segment of demonstration teaching. There are today thousands of these boys' corn, pig, and calf clubs in the United States. Hundreds of farm boys who got their first inspiration in scientific agriculture in these junior demonstrations have since availed themselves of college education and returned to the farm as rural-life leaders. In fifteen Southern states, in 1918, there were 9,026 girls' clubs organized by home demonstration agents. These clubs had a total membership of 286,278. What the corn, pig, and calf clubs have done, and will do, for the farm boys, the canning, cooking, and sewing clubs have done, and will do, for the farm girls.

Demonstration and extension teaching have developed to such proportions that it is impossible to give here anything more than the barest picture of its attainment, method and program. Mr. Lever probably set forth the heart of the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

method of education when he said in a report to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives:

> The fundamental idea of the system of demonstration or itinerant teaching, presupposes the personal contact of the teacher with the person being taught, the participation of the pupil in the actual demonstration of the lesson being taught, and the success of the method proposed. It is a system which frees the pupil from the slavishness of the textbooks, which makes the field, and even the parlor and the kitchen, classrooms. It teaches us to learn to do by doing! As President Wilson said: "It is the kind of work which, it seems to me, is the only kind that generates real education"; that is to say, the demonstration process and the personal touch with the man who does the demonstration! [1]

The chief significance of the demonstration work is not, however, that it is teaching by demonstration, though it was not acceptable to the farmer until it did demonstrate, nor would it ever have attained the proportion which it has reached by any other technique. The chief significance of the work is that it is reaching hundreds of thousands of farm men, women, boys and girls, who would not now be marching in the van of technical farm and educational progress if it were not for this type of teaching.

The heart of the demonstration and extension work is the county demonstration agent. Through the farm and home demonstration agents, the College of Agriculture, State Department of Agriculture, Experiment stations, United States Department of Agriculture, and even many other agencies, register their educational potency. The whole system works as a thoroughly coordinated institution. It reaches, in one way or another, every farm community in the United States. It reaches every age of individual on the farm. It ties up the nation, state and local units of government in a cooperative program of rural education. While in its beginning it was concerned solely with technical production, it now comprehends all phases of rural education and efficiency, from better nutrition for, and care of, babies to matters of pure technical production. Demonstration and extension education

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

comes more nearly putting into the lives of the people every thing which rural communities need than any other agency in the whole field of rural education.

Agricultural and Community Fairs.—Agricultural and rural community fairs are educational agencies which teach by demonstration exhibit, and pageantry. They are of many and various kinds. The "County Fair" is probably the best known. The fact that the county fair has developed into a combination of a street carnival and horse racing in many sections has given the whole fair idea something of a black eye. Recently, however, agricultural and community fairs have come to take their place in the modern movement of dynamic rural education. The influence of demonstration and extension teaching, the introduction of agricultural education in the primary and secondary schools, and the general enlightenment of farm people have developed fairs with greater educational value than any type of rural fair which existed previous to the advent of the carnival and the professional horse race.

Fairs are now being presented and conducted along legitimate lines by schools, communities, townships, counties, states, cities, farm bureaus, granges, farmers' Unions, agricultural colleges, and other less easily defined agencies. Colleges of Agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture now issue bulletins setting forth methods for organizing and conducting such fairs, and the value which may be gotten from such demonstration and exhibit. The programs of these fairs promote every phase of the social and economic life of rural people.

The local community fair especially has developed into a most valuable educational agency. The exhibits are generally few enough in number that the awards can be fully explained. Score cards can be used by means of which the fine, and exact points of merit can always be explained. The exhibits can be fully classified so that every type of product and every phase of community activity can be separately presented. Exhibits can be presented per farm, per home, per school, or on the base of any other unit. The diversified farm the "live-

at-home" or "food-and-feed farm," the "home-convenience house," and other features of social and economic value which are being practiced in the local community can be placed on exhibit for the benefit of the whole community. All sorts of judging contests among the boys and girls of the community can be carried on under the direction of the farm and home demonstration agents or some other expert. Group and community games can be demonstrated and taught. School and community pageants can be staged. In fact, everything which has to do with farming and farm life can be exhibited, demonstrated, and taught and there can be developed a community knowledge and pride of its own best self, presented through the agency of the rural community fair.

County and state agricultural fairs should carry these same methods and values to a greater development and on a greater scale. The best exhibits could, and should, be taken to the county fairs and the best exhibits of the counties should be taken to the state fairs. States located in the same general agricultural belt could well afford to stage interstate fairs. At each of the greater fairs, whole communities, counties, and states can present unit exhibits. Every one of the things suggested here is being practiced in one or many places. States, particularly those that are dominantly agricultural, should organize fair departments which would unify and magnify the whole technique and value of this type of education.

OTHER RURAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

The Public Platform.—A type of education which is likely to be classified as entertainment is that which is offered by way of the public platform. There are dozens of platform performances which furnish education of one or another kind to farmers.

There is scarcely a community in the thickly, or even moderately settled, areas of the United States which does not have its annual Chautauqua or Lyceum program. Many communities have the Chautauqua during the summer and the

lyceum course during the winter. Keith Vawter says, "Broadly speaking, we believe the Chautauqua to be a rural institution." It is an institution which thrives best and probably performs its best service in county seats and smaller towns. The following table shows this to be true:

TABLE 42.—STATISTICS ON SEVEN CHAUTAUQUA COMPANIES[1]

Company	Per Cent of Performances in Towns of Over 2,500	Per Cent of Performances in Towns of 2,500 to 10,000	Per Cent of Performances in Towns of Over 10,000	Per Cent of Attendance by Rural People	Giving Special Farmer Programs
A.....	75	20	5	75	No
B.....	75	10	15	15	No
C.....	100	0	0	50	No
D.....	40	52	8	20	Yes
E.....	82	14	4	10	Yes
F.....	80	15	5	20	No
G.....	50	40	10	25	Yes

[1] Information furnished by the seven leading Chautauqua Companies of the United States.

Two of the Chautauqua companies, who do not have special programs or lectures for farmers now, have had such programs in the past, but have discontinued them. They assert that farmers desire entertainment, and not "shop talk," from the Chautauqua platform. Practically all the companies assert that it is difficult to find suitable farm subjects and suitable speakers for the Chautauqua type of program. All are agreed that any Chautauqua lecture intended especially to appeal to farmers must be upon community problems and not upon technical agriculture.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Chautauqua companies are not trying to teach the farmer how to farm, they are offering him education as well as entertainment. Probably the most cosmopolitan education farmers get is from such platforms. Every aspect of life and interest of moment, every civic problem and every corner of the earth is explained, or exhibited, from these platforms. Farmers make up a goodly portion of the Chautauqua audiences.

Civic and Welfare Organizations as Agencies of Education. —We need do little more than name the other agencies of rural education and leave their fuller development for other places. State and county health officials, bulletins, exhibits, and pageants, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Community Service Incorporated, and other agencies have definitely organized educational programs. State, county and community councils and many other agencies, with specific religious, recreational, and other types of programs contribute to different phases of rural education.

The main point that this chapter has sought to develop is that a tremendous educational program is developing in rural communities, that a thorough understanding of the rural life movement forbids us restricting rural education to mere school education and that a rational attack upon the problem bids us to utilize all the agencies discussed in this chapter and bids these various agencies magnify their programs, functions and values toward the end of developing enlightenment and progress to their maximum proportion in rural communities.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL SCHOOLS

THE RURAL SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The School's Division of Labor in Rural Society.—The rural school is two-fold in its institutional significance. It is an educational institution, and it is a social institution. The school, looked at as purely an institution of learning or looked at in its other potentialities, is, with the exception of the farm home, the most universal rural institution. If it were never to play any other rôle than that of educating rural children, it would be one of the great social institutions of the open country.

Merely to say, however, that it is the function of the school to educate children is trite. What should it teach and what should be its supreme purpose in rural life? A. S. Jensen, Teaching Fellow in the School of Education, University of Washington, has made an interesting and enlightening study of what he calls "Rural Opinion of Educational Philosophy." His method of analysis was to compile from rural education and other rural-life writings the different central aims which have been set forth by the writers in these fields and follow these aims or emphases with the results to which each would lead in rural life. He discovered five outstanding schools of thought. He then submitted these five viewpoints by questionnaire to farm people, rural educators, county agents, farm organizations, county superintendents, and students.

The following five purposes were set forth by Mr. Jensen as representing the emphases which different writers urged for rural education.

I. (*a*) Emphasis: To train farm boys and girls so that they will stay on the farm.

(*b*) Result: The development of a distinct peasant class of rural people.

II. (*a*) Emphasis: To furnish training for vocational (agricultural) efficiency.
(*b*) Result: Efficient producers of farm products.

III. (*a*) Emphasis: To prepare for a satisfying or richer rural life.
(*b*) Result: Good farmers who are happy and contented to live in the country.

IV. (*a*) Emphasis: To prepare for general efficiency and community service.
(*b*) Result: Efficient citizens of the community.

V. (*a*) Emphasis: Training for broad citizenship.
(*b*) Result: Efficient citizenship of society as a whole.

The opinions returned placed "Broad Citizenship" first, "Community Service" second, "Richer Rural Life" third, "Vocational Efficiency" fourth, and "Stay on the Farm" fifth. "Broad Citizenship" was given first rank by almost 80 per cent of those who replied to the questionnaire. Mr. Jensen concludes his study with the following concise conclusions:

The rural people, who are more interested in the problem of elementary education in the rural schools than any one else, most emphatically reject the idea of using the rural school as a means of keeping the children on the farm.

The rural people reject also, with but little emphasis, the vocational efficiency, the richer rural life, and the community service theories as fundamental in the purposes of the rural school.

The rural people express their emphatic approval of the broadest possible theory—citizenship of society as a whole—as the fundamental only worth-while purpose of the elementary education in the rural school.

If the opinion of the rural people, as expressed in this study, is general throughout the country, and if such opinion may be accepted as sound educational philosophy, the approach to the solution of the problem of the rural school must be from the general social viewpoint, and not from any particularistic point of view as it has so often been in the past.[1]

[1] Jenson, A. S., "Rural Opinion of Educational Philosophy," *The Journal of Rural Education,* November, 1925.

There are three great tasks, all of which are vital to rural people and to American society, delegated to the rural school; to teach the fundamentals or rudiments of education, to furnish children the general elements of our common culture, and to prepare children for participation in institutions of higher learning. There should be within the reach of every rural child school facilities for performing each of these tasks.

The task of teaching little children is not the task of teaching mere rudiments. It is the task of teaching fundamentals. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, so much and so rightly criticized from one viewpoint, are, from another viewpoint, the most fundamental things any elementary school can teach. They are the technologies by means of which a large per cent of our knowledge is gained. They are the vehicles for transmitting the ideas and experiences of other people and other generations to any given individual and to this generation. Written and spoken language, and numbers, are the most universal tools of learning in the world. A person who can use none of them is handicapped indeed. So far as the use of language is concerned, all of us fall some place in the scale of learning between these dumb persons and such men as Shakespeare. People learned to talk and to read, write, and count, to some extent, before the learning of these things became systematized in educational institutions. The tragedy is that not all persons obtain the use of these tools of learning in this day of universal schools. We have approximately 5,000,000 persons, over ten years of age, in the United States who are illiterate. These persons constitute 6 per cent of the total population in this age group. The percentage of the rural population is 7.1 per cent of those over ten years of age. In some rural sections it is as high as 25 per cent. In each of eight states, Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, New Mexico, Georgia, North Carolina, and Arizona the per cent of rural illiterates over ten years of age exceeds 16 per cent of the total population. The first task of rural education is that of blotting out illiteracy. This is, then, the first task of the rural elementary school.

The second task of the rural school, and the broadest task

of all education, is to teach persons to make those adjustments to environments and to people which will give them the maximum of satisfaction in living. There is no such thing as abstract knowledge or abstract learning in the sense of education unrelated to life. All learning must relate itself to life's experiences and life's adjustments in some way. The most apt methods of teaching and learning are those which relate directly to every-day human experiences. The whole function of education is to make the relationships real and practicable. Further, the best methods of teaching demand the utilization of the immediate environment of the pupil. This environment, in the case of the rural child, is the farm and farm life. This life alone is real to the child in the beginning of his schooling. A program of education which relates itself to the farm and farm life is, from the standpoint of either the teaching technique or human adjustments, the most practicable.

The third task of the rural school is that of preparing people for rural life. If training in the rural elementary school fails to perform this third task, then millions of those who are to live on the farm and help to constitute rural civilization will be compelled to go without such training. For less than 15 per cent of the children who enter the elementary schools ever attend any other institutions of learning.

The fourth task of the rural elementary school is that of preparing persons to enter the high school. There is no reason why this task should in any way handicap, or even modify, the three primary functions of the common school. In fact every effort should be made to see that this does not happen. Even when the time arrives that one-half or more of those entering the elementary schools pass on into the high schools, these primary schools should hew to the line on their tasks of orienting persons to their local and world environments and of giving them the working tools with which to adapt themselves to the day-by-day life which all persons in modern society must live.

The Rural School—a Community Institution.—The rural school is a part of the rural community, not only because it

is located in the rural community, but also because there is delegated to it the task of systematically educating the rural boys and girls. It is a community institution, because it furnishes the most systematic association which the persons of the community ever have with each other outside their homes. It is a community institution because it is almost always the only public building and free public meeting place for the whole community. The institutionalizing process automatically crystallizes our most habitual activities and, sooner or later, narrows any institutional agency to a few categorical processes. Even though it continues to perform other than these catalogued functions, it is thought of primarily in terms of a few specific things. The rural school is thought of as an institution for educating boys and girls between the ages of six and fifteen years. Associations which have been continuous for eight years are almost completely broken at the completion of the primary school. This is true, because the school life of these eight years is thought of, and too often practiced, only in terms of the course of study. Associations which furnish the dominant interests of the children for eight or nine months of the year are allowed to lapse almost altogether during the summer vacation. The school building and the school ground, usually alive with the faces of happy children and buoyant with association, become dust ridden and weed grown for one-third of the year. The rural school is one of the most important of rural institutions, but it has not yet visioned its whole function or developed its whole opportunity as a community institution. The movement for "the wider use of the school plant" has just recently come to include the rural school.[1]

The Rural School as a Teaching Agency.—The problems of the rural school as a teaching agency center about who are taught, what and where they are taught, how long they are taught, and by whom they are taught. Someone has described the rural school as "a little school where little children for a

[1] Preston, Mrs. J. C., "The Wider Use of the School Plant," *Bulletin* No. 34, State Department of Education of Washington, Olympia, Washington, 1919.

little while are taught little things by a little teacher." It is true that the schools are small, that the children are small, that they are starting to study elementary things, that the school year is often short, that the number of years of schooling are few, and that the teacher is not an educational expert. The rural school, however, has performed a wonderful service to rural people and to the nation. It has been located within the reach of practically every rural child in the United States. It was small in the beginning, because the rural inhabitants were few, the arteries of transportation and communication were few and poor, and the people were poor. It has taught the rudiments of education to millions of our people and raised the rate of literacy a thousand times above what it would have been without it. It has, throughout the period of our national existence, taken over half of the population of the nation for a number of months, over a number of years of their lives, and done for them what no other agency or institution could have done. The Fourth of July orator's praise of the "little red school house" is a meritorious praise. The fault of the rural school is not that it has not taught much, many, and well, but that it is, in some respects, not alive to the new day in either education or agriculture. It is, therefore, not in derogation of the rural school of the past, but in appreciation of the great tasks and opportunities of the rural school of the future, that we analyze the rural school of the present and its salient weaknesses.

THE PROGRAM OF THE RURAL SCHOOL

What the Rural School Teaches.—Just as the rural school is an institution, so it is largely a set of institutionalized courses of study. An institution is not capable of representing the best thought of its day on any subject, for the thought of its day on any subject must become fairly universal in the minds of the general population before it can be translated into an institutional program. Institutions are almost certainly representative of the best experiences of the past, but seldom, if ever, representative of the best experiences or

experiments of the present. This ought to be less true of educational institutions than of any other types of institutions, for the very progress of education is looking forward. The more isolated an institution is from the stream of events which constitute progress, the more its program lags behind the best thinking and best methods of the present. The rural school is an institution which, until recently, has been in comparative isolation. It has, therefore, lagged badly.

The rural school still teaches those subjects which were thought to be necessary in the past: reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. Geography was very early added to its curriculum. This was soon followed by history and physiology. These seven subjects for half a century constituted the curriculum of the rural school. Children studied and teachers taught these subjects from three to eight months per year for a period of from six to eight years, oblivious to the great world of nature and numerous human adjustments which surrounded them.

The methods of teaching were those of formal discipline. The technique of learning was that of rote memory. Progress in education was measured by mile posts in specific textbooks like *Ray's Third Part of Arithmetic* or by passage from one text to another as from Third to Fourth Reader. The personal discipline of the school was in perfect keeping with the rigidness of the curriculum and lesson adjustments. The mind of the child was not developed. It was stuffed. The individuality and personality of the child was not developed, it was crushed and catalogued. The interest of the child was not stimulated, it was driven. The eagerness of the farm boy to leave school, and his willingness to participate in the drudgery of farm work, in preference to participating in the program of the school, has probably been due more to the forbidding nature of this educational method and the stultifying of his natural interest by the school program than to any other one thing.

Even when the opening of the channels of communication had come and supervision from the state and county had pointed to the need of a changed curriculum, the changes were

not directly functional in relation to rural life. Experimentation and progress had taken place in city schools. New courses had been added there and new textbooks had been written by city educators. Because the rural child was never asked for an opinion, because the parents and citizens of the rural districts were not concerned, and because the rural teacher was third rate, the expansion of the rural school curriculum took place in the direction of city ideals. Reading, arithmetic, and manual training especially reflected city influence.

Recently the needs of the rural school have been recognized. The curriculum of the rural school is seeking adaptation to rural life. Methods of rural teaching are being worked out which utilize the native rural environment and prepare the child for life on the farm and in the open country.

The Recitations of the Rural School.—Teaching by recitation, until recently, and even yet in the one-room school, is little short of a farce. To do more than quiz pupils in textbooks is impossible in a period averaging from six to ten minutes in length. The school is often a one-teacher affair. Many new courses have been added to its curriculum without eliminating or modifying old ones. Students of all ages are taught in one room. The period of schooling is short. The result is, the average rural school has about thirty recitations daily. The author has seen schools in which the teacher was trying to conduct forty-five recitations daily. How much the rural schools have accomplished in five- and ten-minute recitations is little short of marvelous. How much they could have accomplished, had the teacher not been overburdened by the hearing of classes, and had she been able to teach by demonstration during the class period and able to guide the desk work of the pupil, it is impossible to imagine.

The whole fault with recitation in rural schools, however, is not due to a jammed curriculum. Part of it is due to the lack of teaching technique, to poor teachers, and especially to a lack of appreciation of the rural child's interests. The rural school is seldom taught by a person who has dedicated

his or her life to the profession.[1] The school equipment is so meager that no adequate technologies, such as charts, globes, sand piles, etc., are possessed by the teacher. The children range from six to fifteen years of age and all school work must be carried on in one room. The teacher often does not live in the community and her dominant interests do not lie in the community. There is no supervision of the teaching and often the one teacher is forced to attempt to be an expert in as many as eight different school grades.

The Leisure-time Program of the Rural School.—We might think, after all that has been said about our crowded programs, that the rural school has no time for leisure or recreational programs. This is altogether too true and will continue to be true so long as the time of the rural school is filled with countless recitations, and study conducted by a method of formal discipline. It will continue to be true, to altogether too great a degree, wherever the school is a one-room, one-teacher school.

The leisure-time program of the old-fashioned country school generally consisted of haphazard games and "gossipy" conversation carried on by small groups during a one-hour "noon recess" and two "fifteen-minute recesses," one in the middle of the forenoon and one in the middle of the afternoon for the smaller children. Because the teacher was in the school house teaching, the children were completely unsupervised during their play periods. The children were usually not permitted to come to school much before time "for school to take up" in the morning and were forbidden by both parents and teacher, sometimes by the school board, to tarry at the school grounds after "school let out" in the afternoon. If the teacher participated in the play of the children at all, it was because he or she loved to play, wanted some fresh air and exercise, wanted to maintain discipline, or loved little children enough to enjoy their pleasures. It was the exceptional teacher, and not the average, who attempted to use a play program and play projects as part of the regular school pro-

[1] Fought, H. W., "Efficiency and Preparation of Rural School Teachers," *Bulletin* No. 49, United States Bureau of Education, 1914.

gram. Furthermore, rural parents would have objected to any such play program. Education to them was a serious and routine task and children "got all the exercise they needed at home."

Another instrument of pleasure and improvement that is recognized today as a legitimate and valuable part of the school program, although altogether too much neglected, and which was totally absent from the old-fashioned rural school, is song. The old-fashioned church was a singing church. The old-fashioned country community was often a singing community; but the old-fashioned rural school did not have songs, much less music, as a part of its program. Even the "last day" and "exhibition" programs were pretty much devoid of music.

Story telling was never a part of the rural school program. Children started to school at five years of age, sometimes younger. They were neither entertained nor taught by story telling, but were immediately started with such formal discipline as "a,b,c" and "numbers."

Once in a while an exceptional teacher would introduce one, or all, of these cultural elements. Sometimes Arbor days were set aside for planting trees in the school grounds, or the children were interested in some other item of ground improvement. All these things were, however, due to the genius of some exceptional teacher, and never a part of an established and prescribed school program. These teachers were the forerunners of the day of the new rural school, but that new day had not then arrived, nor has it yet, by any means, universally arrived in the life and program of the rural school.

The program of the rural school has not, until very recently, had anything which could be correctly described as an extension program. It accepted its task as being completed within the four walls of the school building and through the administering of from thirty to forty doses of categorical recitations every day for five days of each week for, never to exceed, thirty-two weeks of the year. With the remainder of the days and weeks, the school program had nothing to do.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE RURAL SCHOOL? [1]

It Isn't Meeting the Test of Modern Education.—No matter how much it is the tendency of institutions to lag behind the best thinking of their time, no institution is to be excused for following an old program after a new and better one has been thoroughly tested and proven. Any primary school that still has a dozen distinct types of courses in its curriculum; or teaches, even 50 per cent of them by the method of rote memory and formal discipline; or uses over 75 per cent of the school day in pure recitations; or fails to utilize the immediate environment and the child's natural interests, as the point of departure for its training, is not meeting the established criteria of modern education. The one-room, one-teacher rural school is almost universally violating every one of these criteria.

It Isn't Meeting the Needs of Modern Farm Life.—Agriculture, nature study, and domestic sciences are finding their way into the curriculum of the rural school. A number of states make one, or all, of these, a part of their prescribed course of study. There are, however, thousands of rural schools still being taught without them, and millions of rural children going through, or leaving, these schools, without ever having related their learning at school to their life at home in any direct way. Civics, a recent addition to the rural school curriculum, in some states, is seldom "community civics", much less "rural community civics."

The Rural School Is too Small.—There are still approximately 200,000 one- and two-roomed schools in the United States. These schools are often located in small districts which attempt to support their own school programs. The buildings are relics of pioneer days, the grounds are small, and almost universally ill kept; the children are often few in number and the work, even after the most persistent effort, is poorly graded. Cubberley lists the chief objections to the district system of school organization. These objections constitute

[1] There is practically no limit to the amount of space that could be given to the matters discussed in this section. Because they are more strictly subject material for courses in education, they are discussed here only as a background for social interpretation.

an intelligent criticism of the small school whenever it is found. They are:

1. It is no longer so well adapted to meet present conditions and needs as are other systems of larger scope.
2. The district authorities but seldom see the real needs of their schools or the possibilities of rural education.
3. As a system of school administration it is expensive, short sighted, inefficient, inconsistent, and unprogressive.
4. It leads to great, and unnecessary inequalities in schools, terms, educational advantages, and to unwise multiplication of schools.
5. The taxing unit is too small, and the trustees too penurious.
6. The trustees, because they hold the purse strings, frequently assume authority over many matters, which they are not competent to manage.
7. Most of the progress in rural-school improvement has been made without the support and often against the opposition of the trustees and of the people they represent.[1]

The problem of rural-school education is too important and too great to be solved by a local district, one-room, one-teacher, unit or system of schools.

It Is Poorly Equipped and Poorly Supported.—The day has passed when nothing more than oak benches, hickory switches, and blue-backed spellers is adequate school equipment. The day has passed when the stern disciplinarian and crack arithmetician is the criterion of an efficient teacher. The day has come, in a world of market and price régime, a world of newspapers and magazines, a world of scientific farming and community organization, when efficient education can be had only with trained teachers and adequate equipment. Trained teachers and adequate equipment cost money. The rural school will not be adequate until it is adequately supported. Rural schools are supported by a little more than one-half per capita expenditure per child of that of city schools. The investment in school property in the country per pupil is one-third to one-half what it is in the city. The tax rate

[1]Cubberley, E. P., *Rural Life and Education,* pp. 184-185, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1914.

TABLE 43.—COMPARISON OF SCHOOL ADVANTAGES IN COUNTRY AND CITY IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

	School Term in Days	School Property per Pupil Enrolled	School Expenditures per Pupil Enrolled	Average Annual Salary of Teachers
City.....	182	$146.69	$40.59	$854
Country.....	143	60.81	23.91	479

in the country is generally about one-half what it is in the city. The average annual salary of the rural teacher is about one-half of that paid the city teacher. The rural school buildings are small, poorly lighted, poorly heated, poorly ventilated. They are short on blackboards, charts, maps, globes, pictures, and library equipment. Their grounds are ill kept and quite devoid of play equipment. These shortcomings will never be corrected until the money is provided with which to supply the needed support and to purchase adequate equipment. So long as we maintain the small-district system of rural schools, we shall have not only inequalities between city and country educational opportunities, but we shall have gross inequalities between the educational opportunities of different country children. Professor Eliff, for years inspector of schools in Missouri, was wont to say, "The carefully guarded 'right' of the local district, is the right to have the poorest school possible."

It Is Poorly Attended.—Rural-school attendance universally falls below that of city-school attendance. This in no small way accounts for the excessive illiteracy of our rural population. It is true because (1) the school, and its program, is not inviting or challenging to the rural child; (2) because farmers keep their children at home to work; (3) because compulsory laws are often modified to permit a greater per cent of absences in rural schools; (4) because weather and roads are bad and there is no system of transportation.

[1] *Bulletin* No. 90, 1919, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., pp. 29, 31, 34.

TABLE 44.—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN CITY AND COUNTRY[1]

	Number of Pupils Enrolled	Average Daily Attendance	Per Cent of Enrolled Pupils in Average Daily Attendance	Number of States with Higher Rate of Attendance
City.....	8,586,601	6,760,314	78.4	35
Country.....	12,280,530	8,674,451	70.6	13

The Time Is too Short and the Years of Schooling too Few.—The average length of the rural-school year was 143 days in 1918. The average length of the city-school year was 182 days that year.[2] In a number of states the rural schools provide only seven grades of instruction. There are hundreds of rural schools that run only six months or less per year. A survey of the 300 freshmen in North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering showed, in 1921, an average school attendance of seventy-seven months previous to entering college. Over one-third of the country boys had no more than sixty-four months of schooling. That is, one-third had only eight years of eight-months' schooling, or about seven years of nine-months' schooling.

Until recently there have been no rural high schools, consequently the rural child has either gone without a high-school training or has gone to the city to get it.

It Is Poorly Taught.—The rural school is universally more poorly taught than the city school. This is because:

1. The teacher has from ten to fifteen subjects to teach and from thirty to forty recitations per day to conduct.
2. The rural teachers are the unexperienced teachers.
3. They are poorly paid, with the result that the better teachers are monopolized by the city.
4. There is not adequate teaching equipment in rural schools.
5. Good teaching is impossible when the subject matter is

[1] *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States,* 1920-1922, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.
[2] *Ibid.*

not of interest to the student. Much of the subject matter of the rural school curriculum is not of interest to the rural child.

TABLE 45.—TEACHERS IN ONE-AND TWO-ROOM RURAL SCHOOLS[1]

Number	300,000	
Not yet completed high school	150,000	50 per cent
Finished only grade school	30,000	10 per cent
No professional training	100,000	33⅓ per cent
Normal school graduates	6,000	2 per cent
Special rural training	300	0.1 per cent
Number who leave the field annually	90,000	30 per cent
Remain not more than one year in a place	200,000	66.6 per cent

It Is Poorly Supervised and Administered.—Educational administration and supervision have become professions. A school or a school program has no more chance of being efficiently conducted without expert, overhead supervision than has a factory, a city, or an army. A state the size of Iowa will average about 300,000 children enrolled in rural schools. Under a local district system, it will have 30,000 rural-school units. This means the teaching of from 350,000 to 400,000 subjects daily and the hearing of about 1,000,000 recitations daily. Needless to say, such a stupendous undertaking needs the best of administration and supervision.

The weaknesses of rural-school administration and supervision are:

1. The local district or township school board has neither the time nor the training to administer and supervise rural education.

2. The county superintendent is too often elected by popular vote and not chosen because he is a trained educator.

3. A state course of study, state inspection, and state supervision is too often absent.

4. There are no standard criteria for rural school courses of study, teacher training, or school conduct.

5. There is little supervision of health, sanitation, and other extra-curricular factors.

It is neither necessary nor desirable to discuss in detail these weaknesses and the different experiments and systems now

[1] *Ibid.*

being tried in the different states. The slightest observation of rural schools and a comparison of rural and city schools will serve to show how far the rural school falls short of city-school efficiency in administration and supervision.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS THAT MAKE FOR POOR RURAL SCHOOLS

Tenancy.—Because the local unit of school support and administration is so often practiced, rural-school opportunity differs in different districts. It is unequal where there are two or more widely separate tenure classes, no matter what the unit of administration and support. Tenants are not as able to give their children educational advantages as owners are. A tenant community gets good school support from neither operators nor absentee owners. The tenants themselves are usually of lower educational status and so have lower educational ideals. Hired men and croppers jeopardize school efficiency even more than do tenants. We can check the rural school by any one of the weaknesses just reviewed, and if the weakness depends on the children, the community, the building, or the support, it will be found to be magnified in tenant communities. In the Southeast Missouri community, referred to in a number of other chapters, the tenants had twice as high a rate of illiteracy and the croppers and hired men over four times as high a rate of illiteracy as the owner operators. The tenants, croppers, and hired men constituted over nine-tenths of the total population of this community.

In this community [1] it was found that 59.3 per cent of the croppers, 38.9 per cent of the hired men, and 27.6 per cent of the tenants had dropped out of school by the time of, or before, the completion of the fourth grade. Only 14.5 per cent of the owner operators had dropped out at this stage of schooling. Not a cropper or hired man in the whole area held a school office; 43 per cent of the hired men, 43 per cent of the croppers,

[1] Taylor, Carl C., Yoder, F. R. and Zimmerman, C. C.: *A Social Study of Farm Tenancy in Southeast Missouri,* In Press, United States Department of Agriculture.

and 26 per cent of the tenants were either opposed to specific school improvement or demonstrated no interest when questioned by the surveyors. Only 12 per cent of the owner operators fell in the negative class. Not an owner in the community kept his children out of school to work for hire, while 25 per cent of the tenants, 66 per cent of the croppers, and 78.6 per cent of the hired men followed this practice. All the school buildings were in a condition of unrepair.[1]

The families of tenants, croppers, and hired men not only fail to practice consistent school habits and give adequate school support, but it is natural that they should not have a very deep interest in the school as a community institution, since they are transients in the community. The landlord is often worse than a transient. He is a non-resident. In the report of "A Study of Rural Schools in Travis County, Texas," E. E. Davis says:

> Diligent inquiry was made, and in this area of 200 square miles and more than 13,000 population, only one absentee landlord was reported as actively encouraging his tenants to vote for a school tax.[2]
>
> You want to know what makes our school one of the sorriest in Travis County? I can tell you in about fifteen words. This community is owned and controlled by about three men who do not live here.[3]

The table on the following page is from another study in Texas:

Tenant children are often kept out of school because of lack of books, lack of clothes, work at home, or because of moving from place to place.

Poor Farming and Low Farm Income.—Poor farming automatically results in lack of property, particularly after the native fertility has been taken from the soil. One-crop sections, sections with few livestock, sections where land values are low, and sections where farm incomes are low can easily be

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Davis, E. E., "A Study of Rural Schools in Travis County, Texas," *Bulletin* No. 67, p. 7, University of Texas, 1916.

[3] *Ibid.*

TABLE 46.—THE INFLUENCE OF TENANCY UPON EDUCATION[1]

Counties	Per Cent of Farms Operated by Tenants	School Property per Child	Average Length of School Term in Days	Per Cent of Districts Levying Local Taxes	Per Cent of Enrolment to Scholastic Enumeration	Per Cent of Average Daily Attendance to School Enumeration
Average for about eleven low-tenancy counties.....	30	32.55	135	75	89	52
Average for about fifteen high-tenancy counties.....	63	13.76	117	64	81	47

shown to be sections below the average in rural-school educational advantages. The automatic influence of these economic factors is so very evident as not to need proof. School and school programs cost money and these sections stand low in purchasing power. South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and other states that have consistently held low rank when measured by these economic criteria have consistently stood low in rural educational advantages. This influence is greatly magnified when the poverty of a single *local district* is allowed completely to control the educational apportionment of that district.

Isolation.—Isolation is the sole remaining excuse for the small-district, one-room, one-teacher school. This is the poorest kind of rural school known. States which are sparsely settled, such as Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Montana, rank low, particularly in average daily attendance. Gillette says that the seven states which have the poorest roads in the United States have the poorest rural school attendance

[1] WHITE, E. V., "Studies in Farm Tenantry in Texas," *Bulletin* No. 21, Page 41, University of Texas.

record and the five states that have the best roads have the best rural school attendance.

Isolation is a handicap to rural schools because large schools are impossible, roads are generally bad, teachers hesitate to accept positions far removed from city conveniences and associations, and supervision is difficult. In some isolated mountain and sparsely settled dry-farming sections the school runs only in the summer months.

Race Cleavages.—During the last decade the improvement of Negro education has been very rapid. This has been due to a number of causes. Natural humanitarian sentiments probably rank as first cause. A number of endowment institutions such as the Slater, Jeanes, and Rosenwall funds have led in the promotion of the education of the Negroes. All of the Southern states are now doing many times more for the development and promotion of Negro education than they were two decades ago. The people of the Southern states now see clearly that it is impossible to raise the general level of their economic life unless they raise the standard of living of the Negroes. They are going at this task chiefly by means of education.

The differences between the educational status and educational opportunities of the white and the colored races are still very great. The following table gives a number of comparative data for the Southern states. The Northern states

TABLE 47.—SHOWING COMPARATIVE DA

State	Alabama		Florida		Georgia	
Races (white and colored)	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Per cent of total scholastic population	61.79	38.21	68.19	31.81	58.22	41.78
Per cent of total school enrolment	63.30	36.70	72.86	27.14	.....	.....
Length of school term (in days)	143	112	148	108	.....	.....
Per cent of total amount paid teachers	79.73	12.11	91.58	8.42	90.65	9.35
Per cent of total school property	90.73	9.27	93.97	6.03	89.10	10.90
Per cent of total expended for equipment	92.65	7.35	97.94	206	94.79	5.21
Per cent of total amount of current expenditures	89.41	10.59			.....	.....
Number of accredited high schools	.....	209	1	.....	264	11
Per cent of total amount expended for higher education	.....	.....	.....	.....	96.23	3.77

[1] All these data are for either 1922, 1923, or 1924. The same year was al given state. The state educational reports are different in the type of infor filled.

do not have separate schools for the two races and, therefore, no data are available for them.

The differences in educational facilities, and particularly in school practices between the two races, are even greater than appear from the facts presented in the table. The attendance records of the Negro children are much poorer than those of the whites. This is true for two chief reasons, Negro children are much oftener kept out of school to help with farm and other labor and attendance officers do not enforce the law so rigidly in the case of the Negro children. The salaries and the professional training of the Negro teachers are always lower than those of white teachers. The Negro schools are much less often consolidated.

Considerably over one-half of the accredited Negro high schools are not supported by tax funds. Georgia, for instance, with eleven accredited Negro high schools, supports only one such school out of tax moneys. North Carolina, which leads all the Southern states in educational opportunities for the colored portion of her population, has twenty state-supported accredited high schools and twenty-three such schools supported by endowment funds.

The educational opportunities for the Negroes diminish as they advance from the elementary school toward institutions of higher learning. Practically all of the institutions of higher

TA OF WHITE AND NEGRO EDUCATION[1]

Louisiana		North Carolina		Oklahoma		South Carolina		Tennessee		Texas	
White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
56.31	43.69	68.36	31.64	92.63	7.27	51.11	48.89	82.17	17.73	82.71	17.29
66.52	33.48	68.52	31.48	92.48	7.52	51.19	48.81	81.74	18.26	82.35	17.65
171	113	146.2	134.8	.....	.....	167	114				
89.09	10.91	88.96	11.04	95.22	4.78	86.88	13.12				
94.75	5.25	87.97	12.03	.....	.....	89.11	10.89	93.44	6.56	94.97	5.03
.....	.....	93.63	6.37	95.39	4.61	88.69	11.31				
.....	.....					89.97	11.03				
294	4	446	43	.....	.....	276	16	258	10	579	1
90.44	9.56	93.12	6.88	98.51	1.49						

ways used in compiling the facts for both white and Negro statistics in a mation they present and consequently all categories of the table are not

learning for Negroes are either agricultural schools or teacher-training schools.

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CHAPTER XIV

AN ADEQUATE RURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

BETTER AND MORE FUNCTIONAL SCHOOLS

Rural Schools Must Relate Themselves to Other Factors and Conditions of Rural Life.—Because schools are universal and because great numbers of children assemble in them, it is easy to fall into the fallacy of believing that they can carry out functions which are quite impossible for them to perform. It is highly questionable whether the elementary schools can do many things which some school men claim to be their central tasks. Their control over the child is not so complete nor so subtle as that of the home. Youths are under the direct control of the schools for less than half their waking hours and for less than half of the days of their lives between the times of birth and fourteen years of age. The schools are neither our most dominant nor most universal educational forces. A child's personality is not so much made in school as it is in the home. His early habits and attitudes are all learned in the home. Even after he has entered the school he returns to his home each day. If we take into account mornings, evenings, Saturdays, Sundays, and vacation periods we see at once that the home remains, all during the child's early education, the most dominant moulding agency of his life.

The school is, nevertheless, one of our great social institutions. Social institutions operate upon the basis of a division of labor between vital social functions. One major social institution is never a substitute for another major social institution. Each social institution arises out of a need to be met and operates in the midst of forces, interests, and agencies which divide the whole field with it. The school will never function accurately in the total program of rural education until it relates itself, in the most intelligent fashion, to the total rural

community. Persons who live in rural communities are chiefly dominated by thoughts, purposes, and plans of farming. All of them live in individual, self-contained families. An appreciation of these facts is of major importance in understanding what the rural school ought to be and can be. In the general social atmosphere of the farm home and rural community the school will never supersede these primary interests of those who live on farms. What it must and should do is to utilize and supplement these interests. That is, it must capitalize these interests in its technique of teaching and supplement the lives of its pupils by introducing other interests into this supersaturated rural atmosphere.

Rural Schools Must Supply to the Rural Child's Mind What the Rural Environment Lacks.[1]—Schools are a necessity in a civilization or society so complex that many forces which influence a person in his daily life cannot be personally known to his individual physical experience. Before trade and commerce arose, people knew their total environment and knew fairly intimately all persons with whom they had anything to do. Today, even in our own homes, we touch the ends of the earth and are influenced by forces and peoples whom we cannot possibly know personally. Unless we can have some sure way of keeping ever cognizant of the affairs of the world community we will be seriously handicapped. The school is an institution whose function it is to lay at the feet of each new generation the accumulated experience of all past generations and to place each generation in touch with the world of its own day. The home, the neighborhood, and the occupations could perform the complete task of education in a simple, homogeneous society and can and will continue to start each new generation in life. But the school must take the next necessary long step by supplying the knowledge and the tools for the adjustments to that larger life and set of activities which lie beyond the experience of farm family life.

The School Curriculum Should Educate for Life and Living.—The child comes to school knowing little, if anything, ex-

[1] Brim, D. G., *Rural Education,* 197ff, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923.

cept life as it is lived day by day. The institutionalization of education, that is, the centralizing of education in schools and the crystallizing of it into the subjects in the curriculum, has had a tendency to detach much of our teaching from the immediate facts of living. If the schools fail to connect up with life as it is lived and must be lived day by day, they will fail to be our chief educational agencies, though a goodly portion of the student's life is spent within them. Persons learn by doing and are stimulated to learn in order that they may more successfully carry on life's normal activities. They will, therefore, be interested in and directed by those things which they can most readily recognize as related to the world of affairs. If the school fails to deal with the world of affairs, then those activities and institutions which do will dominate and direct the energies and interests of the student and will automatically be the chief educational forces of society.

There is nothing to be gained by making education abstract. General or cultural education separated from life's activities is not only not education at all but is impossible. The student may feel impelled to memorize the categories of abstract subjects but he will never inculcate them into his habits and personality. They will not, therefore, influence his conduct or attitude and can never reflect themselves in worth-while activity. Furthermore, it is not necessary to teach in abstractions in order to place the student in contact with the larger world of which he is a part and to make him cognizant of the forces and influences which play a part in his life. What we must do is to recognize that all education is general and cultural, if its relationships to life's activities are made clear. The idea that science, or even the so-called humanities or classics, must be reduced to abstractions because they are studies of past life is fallacious, robs them of their richness, and takes from them the part they should perform in educating the student for life in a world environment. The study of cultures, of civilization—their institutions, their customs, their literature and their life—is the only education that can be cultural in a dynamic sense.

At times the aversion for abstract education leads to an

overemphasis of training in the detailed manipulation of trades and occupations. To do this is also to rob education of its broader function. It is no small part of a student's education to learn the necessity of performing a definite division of society's labor, but it is tragic if, in learning the techniques and technologies of a trade and occupation, he is robbed of that training which has to do with human relationships and fails to get an appreciation and understanding of the life and activity of the world of the past and the present. It is possible to train a person so well, or at least so narrowly, for a trade or profession, that he will be handicapped in actual civic life.

The course of study in the common schools, in some of its elements, is particularly well adapted to education for citizenship in a modern world. The "three R's", which are sometimes unduly criticized, are the absolutely fundamental necessities for participation in a society which is larger than a local neighborhood. They are the vehicles of communication between persons who are not in face-to-face contact. To be able to read, write, and use numbers is essential to communicating with persons outside our immediate physical environment. If the course of study in the common schools had to be reduced to three subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic should be those three subjects.

Science, geography, and history are probably the next most important subjects in training a student for knowledge of and participation in the world of affairs. Geography, if properly taught, introduces the child to the physical world in which he lives. History teaches him about the world's people. These two subjects open the eyes of the child to the world which lies beyond his own community and introduce him to the fact that the life of his community is thoroughly interwoven into the life of society at large.

Just as history and geography introduce a person to his larger physical and cultural environment, so science frees him from local, and purely incidental, factors of life and introduces him to the laws of the physical and the organic world. Science, in the form of nature study, should be a part of the course of

study from the first year of school and should be enlarged in its scope and interpretation all through the school training.

Next to geography, history, and science, should be the social sciences: economics, sociology, political science, and social ethics. They need not and must not be taught abstractly, as they so often are in our higher institutions of learning. They need not be known by these titles, which are college-course names. They can be taught as early in the course of study as are geography and history. The child has been in contact with, and participated in, the life activities of the family, the neighborhood, and the school for a number of years; he has seen trading in economic goods, and he himself has done some trading; he has seen the operation of government on all sides and has participated in social life from hundreds of angles. He knows more about the civic or social facts and factors of life when he comes to school than he does about any other set of facts and processes which appear as part of his school study. A course in citizenship, including a description and analysis of all civic relationships, local and world wide, should be a part of every school curriculum.

Education Must Be Recognized as the Progressive Adjustment to the Changing Circumstances of Life and as the Chief Means of Social Progress.—A person is never completely educated. Every step in the learning process simply furnishes him more tools and techniques with which to take the next step, and every next step will demand other adjustments and thus involve further learning. The chief function of a school education is to teach persons to know how progressively to discover the world in all of its aspects, himself a part of it, and to live abundantly in it by making adaptions to it and use of it. Education is education in the real sense to the degree that it creates the desire and capacity for further mental growth.

The school as an institution, more than the home, is capable of progressive adaptation to the changing life of the world. The family life and practices continue astonishingly uniform from generation to generation, because of the rule of custom. Each generation imbibes its thoughts and picks up its customs from observations of the previous generation. In the school

there is a systematic and conscious revision of subject matter based upon the new discoveries of the world. Education is, therefore, our chief agency of progress. The modifications in life come chiefly through learning new and better ways of doing things. The progress of the past has not come through the development of a better racial stock, though we have learned much about the protection and preservation of life. It has come through learning more about our physical and social world and how to use this world for human happiness and welfare.

We have sufficient knowledge of the psychology of learning, sufficient knowledge of the origin of impulse and interest, and sufficient evidence that the rural school will for a long time to come have a monopoly on the formal education of the majority of rural persons, to know that, unless it teaches them to make adjustments to farm life and efficiently to utilize farm facts, it is not really educating to any great extent at all.

Agriculture is the one dominant activity in rural life. Rural folk find every element in their standard of living dependent upon, or conditioned by, the fundamental facts of farming. There is not a subject in the rural school curriculum that needs to have its more universal values sacrificed because it is approached from the child's knowledge of, and interest in, agriculture. If the curricula in schools for rural children do not furnish studies which attach themselves directly to life and work on the farm, the children will seek to escape education by leaving the school or to escape the farm by going to the towns and cities.

The rural-school curriculum that fails to enlarge the environment of rural boys and girls, by giving them a knowledge of the larger world in which they live today, is failing to perform its duty to the nation and to the world. Schools, wherever they be, should teach persons to make progressive adjustment to the changing circumstances of an ever-enlarging world life. The rural school can do this for rural boys and girls with a curriculum that is adjusted to the knowledge of the occupation of agriculture at one end and the knowledge of the world at the other end.

The Schools Must Add Some New Subjects.—Cubberley relates the following incident in discussing the need for a reconstructed rural-school curriculum:

> One of our distinguished American scientists, now the chancellor of one of our large universities, once told the writer that in one of the first institute talks he ever gave he pointed out to the teachers present the great overemphasis of grammar in our public school work, and the desirability of reducing the time then given to this subject. At the close of the address a school principal came forward and wrung his hand, saying that he agreed with him thoroughly, and had for years been advocating such a reduction, in order that more time might be secured for work in arithmetic. The writer once had a similar experience, except that the subjects involved were exactly reversed.[1]

For altogether too long a time patrons and teachers and educators have assumed that the efficiency of successful schools depends upon the traditional subjects of the old-fashioned curriculum. Such is not the case. The destiny of the rural school hangs upon the introduction of subjects which relate more directly to adjustments to farm life and work. Modern conditions of life, present demands made upon agriculture, and urgent needs of rural communities demand a school that teaches more than the "three R's" and their few supplements.

The modern school curriculum should include courses in nature study, agriculture, domestic science, manual arts, health, civics, music, physical training, and organized play. It is peculiar indeed that nature study, the content of which consists almost wholly of the study of plant, animal, and bird life, was first introduced in city schools and had been long taught there before it was introduced in the rural schools. Domestic science has been taught to city girls, who can never possibly have the enormous responsibilities and detailed duties of household management, which farm girls have. City boys, some of whom will never have any great need for skill in manual arts, have been given opportunities for manual training,

[1] Cubberley, E. P., *Rural Life and Education,* p. 256, Houghton, Mifflin Company, New York, 1914.

while country boys, who every day of their adult lives will have need of such training, have been compelled to spend their school hours studying arithmetic and formal grammar. The country boy and girl, living out of contact with public and commercial music and recreation of the city, have been the last to be taught music and recreation. The rural school needs to wake up to the facts that there are new ideas in education, that the city school has stolen its birthright in some innovations, and that even the city school cannot lead the way to a thoroughly adequate rural curriculum.

Discussion about the placing of new courses in the curriculum of the country school has centered about agriculture. To "vocationalize," "vitalize," or "make practical" the country school has seemed always to mean the introduction into its curriculum a study of this one dominant, practical part of farm existence. The three great obstacles to the introduction of agriculture into the curriculum have been:

1. Farmers have had no faith in the "book learning" and grade teaching of agriculture. They have not believed agriculture could be learned from books. They have not believed a girl teacher could teach it, even if it could be learned from books, and they have wanted their children to study those things which they would not naturally learn at home.

2. It was argued that a child of the age of those in the grade school could not study a subject which presupposes so much technical, scientific knowledge as does agriculture.

3. It was argued that the curriculum was already jammed and there was no time for new subjects.

All these arguments have been overcome to a degree. The triumph will ultimately be complete. Farmers have been learning from the agricultural journals and bulletins. They have seen their boys and girls develop an interest in farm facts and processes which they have never got from reading, writing, and arithmetic. They have even seen them learning things about agriculture which they themselves never had, and never would have, learned from traditional farming itself. They are still justified of course, in their objection to mere "book agriculture" and the city teacher. To teach agri-

culture efficiently, they must see that they have school gardens, demonstration plots at school and at home, that they have a country-bred man teacher who is trained in agriculture, and that a longer period of schooling than seven or eight years be furnished to rural children.

If the study of agriculture had no value in itself to the rural child, and it ought not to be pushed too far on the base of the vocational value alone, its introduction into the rural-school curriculum would have enormous value in that it serves to help break up the old, stultified, traditional curriculum and to vitalize the whole school program. It has introduced project and demonstration teaching, has attached learning to the vital interests of the child, and proved that the most apt way to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling is by subject matters which challenge the interest of the child in learning these subjects.

Domestic science has been opposed by exactly the same arguments as those imposed against agriculture. Farm people, and even others, have ridiculed the idea that the school could teach farm girls anything about domestic science and household management which they would not learn from their mothers. The study of domestic science has been so fruitful in teaching food values, balanced diets, household management, home conveniences, home beautification, sewing, cooking, and serving, that it has quickly justified its place in the rural-school program. In many cases it has given the farm woman her first insight into the possibilities of lightening the burdens of her tasks, to the beautification and decoration of the farm home, and to the scientific care of her children. The fact that the girls pursue the courses in nature study, gardening, plant diseases, etc., during the earlier grades, makes it possible for them to accomplish a great deal in domestic science during the seventh and eighth grades of school. The school garden and school lunch have furnished the projects for demonstration teaching and have thus added much to school life. The hot lunch also has distinct health values, because it eliminates the cold and poorly balanced diet of the home-prepared lunch.

The most apt and practical place for manual training in any school is in rural schools. Manual training must necessarily consist largely of hand and small-tool work. The professional man of the city has practically no use for the techniques of manual arts. The factory worker is a machine worker, and school equipment cannot possibly furnish equipment for machine training. The artisan class alone can make practical after use of the techniques learned in the manual-art departments of the city schools. The farm boy, on the other hand, will have to be his own mechanic, carpenter, mason, and cobbler continually. Manual training has values in its practical application to farm tasks, in its utility in developing farm and home conveniences, in the relief it offers from other school studies, and in the opportunity it gives for inductive learning and teaching. It should be a part of every rural school curriculum.

The introduction of the social sciences into the primary schools is still a mooted question in the minds of a great many persons. It would seem that the fact that at least 85 per cent of the rural boys and girls never enter high schools should be sufficient argument for the introduction of this subject into the primary school. The child does not escape from the industrial, social, and political life of his time merely because he fails to enter a high school. The necessity of his having economic, social, and political knowledge in order to enjoy, participate in, and prosper in the life of society is just as essential for one who never enters a high school or college as it is for one who does. The following quotation, from Professor Betts, is in reply to the argument that these subjects are too difficult for the elementary grades. He says:

> If we grant the economic ability to support good schools, then the curriculum offered by any type of school, the scope of the subject matter given the pupil to master, is the measure of the educational ideals of those maintaining the schools.[1]

If we grant that it is desirable for the rural dweller to have

[1] Betts, G. H., *New Ideals in Rural Schools*, p. 57, Houghton, Mifflin Company, New York, 1913.

civic training then we must grant the necessity of placing civics in the common-school curriculum.

The teaching of civics in some rural grade schools has been practiced for three decades. At the time of its introduction it fell heir to all the faults of categorical, deductive presentation. It was merely a study of geographical political units of organization and the learning to recite the names of public offices. Even yet textbooks of civics are all too much primers in the study of political science. The political organization of society is one of the last phases of social organization in which the child comes to participate and probably the last in which he becomes interested. He should have called to his attention, first those social facts which most concern him, his home, community, playground, school, and church organizations. He should be told the story of mankind and his relationships to nature and other men. He should very early learn the economic arrangement of his farm and home and their relation to other occupations and significance in the world. These things are as much a part of his every-day environment as plants and animals are, and much more comprehensible to him than an abstract multiplication table is. Finally he should be taught the political organization of society, the county, state, and nation. There is no course in the whole gamut of learning which lends itself so aptly to the developing mind, expanding environment, and world of knowledge as does the study of civics, if it is properly taught and contains the proper subject matter.

Music, art, drawing, literature, and organized play should all find a place in the rural-school curriculum. They not only enrich the school life but develop an appreciation of the beautiful and buoyant in home and community life. Rural districts need these cultural elements to relieve the monotony of their occupational routine and to break down the isolation of their existence. All these things lead to social gatherings, develop social and cultural contacts, and help persons to appreciate and enjoy the larger world in which they live. They should all find place in the grade-school curriculum and can find place there, but not unless the schools are reorganized

physically and unless the old subjects of the curriculum are modified in time and presentation.

Old Subjects Must Be Redirected.—The adding of six or seven new subjects to the grade-school curriculum, while at the same time retaining all the subjects which have been there, is what has given us our overcrowded curriculum. If the school were reorganized so as to give more time for recitations, and organized so as to relieve the necessity of one person teaching all subjects, even then the grade school could not accommodate fifteen subjects, many of which run through several grades. The introduction of new courses means the elimination, or at least stringent modification, of some old courses. Eight solid years of eight months of twenty days each can no longer be given to arithmetic, formal grammar, reading, spelling, and writing. Nor is there time for long hours of memorized geography and history or the categorical learning of the bones and muscles of the human body in preparation for and recitation of physiology lessons. The method of teaching these subjects must be changed because we must give less time to them and because some of them can be better taught by an indirect method.

Reading, writing, and spelling need not be taught as separate subjects at all. They are, or can be made, a part of every other subject in school. Formal grammar and formal arithmetic need be given little space. They, too, can be taught and learned in the development of other subjects. Arithmetic, especially, has been overdeveloped in relation to its importance. It need not be given over one-third the time usually assigned to it. Even this one-third would develop just as good or better arithmetic if it dealt with crops, animals, and farm accounts, than if it dealt with abstract numbers, applied by impersonal systems of multiplication and division. Grammar would be just as good, or better, grammar if it dealt with correct diction and sentence structure in expressing natural interests, than it would be if developed by parsing and diagramming impersonal sentences. Reading can be taught just as well, and better, when the subject matter being read is of dynamic interest to the pupil, than it can when it is composed

of subject matter chosen because of the few new words which appear in each successive assignment. Spelling can be considerably more aptly taught by helping children to form the habit of learning the meaning and spelling of all new words which appear in their other studies than it can by a categorical memorizing of words that have one, two, then three, syllables, or memorizing long lists that begin with this or that letter. Writing, like arithmetic and grammar, can just as well be taught as a part of the technique and subject matter of other subjects. If reading, writing, spelling, grammar, and arithmetic can be learned by learning agriculture, domestic science, civics, geography, and hygiene, then the new subjects of the curriculum will have sufficient time in the program of the rural school to vitalize rural grade-school education.

In addition to the modification of the courses just discussed there is need for the reconstruction of such courses as geography, history, physiology, and literature by developing them more directly toward an interpretation of life. If literature is to be taught in the last two years of the primary school, or reading to be taught in the earlier grades, there is no reason why nature and farm life should not have some place in the subject matter of such courses. In geography, the time should no longer be given to the memorizing of rivers, capes, bays, capitals, and boundaries. What is now known as physical, commercial, and human geography should constitute the material. The study can then start with the topography of the community and the products of the farm, rather than with such statements as, "The world is round and like a ball seems hanging in the air," or some other purely abstract concept. History, too, can be tied up to the agricultural and industrial life of the students just as well as with ancient dates and decisive battles. Physiology, rather than consisting of memorizing the different parts of the human anatomy, should be a study of health, sanitation, and hygiene.

As we stated in a preceding section, school education must always consist largely of a set course of study. If this course of study is not based upon knowledge of farm work and farm life which the child already has, it disregards its most apt

approach to the whole educational program. If it consists of abstraction and formal disciplines, it will drive them from the schools. If it uses farm knowledge and farm interests as the chief aims of these courses then it robs the child of the broader knowledge and interest which an educated citizen should have.

LARGER AND MORE ADVANCED SCHOOLS

Consolidation for School Improvement.—The sole purpose of school consolidation is to furnish better education and better schools for rural children. The tasks that the consolidation program assumes are the tasks of eliminating the weaknesses of present and past rural-school organization and the shortcomings of their conduct. These are large tasks, but they can only be accomplished by means of consolidation. It is the task of supplying a better curriculum, better teaching, better supervision and administration, better support, better organization, better physical equipment, better enrollment, and better attendance.

Consolidation is of various types and degrees. The degrees and types depend on the immediate object which it is desirous to accomplish. The first object of consolidation was that of providing high-school training for rural boys and girls. The second was the elimination of waste, due to the small enrollment and attendance in many district schools. The third object was to get better graded schools. The final object is to have schools which can meet all the requirements of an adequate educational program. These objectives have led naturally to three types of consolidation, *first,* the centralization of high schools at some one point, this point to serve a number of local districts. The lower grades still to be taught in the one- and two-room district schools; *second,* the union of two or more local districts; *third,* the consolidated school of a definitely defined area, sometimes a township, and the centralization of the whole school program in this larger school. This last is the type toward which all other types are evolving and the only type of school to which we can look

for ultimate solution of rural-school problems. This is the New Rural School.

It is calculated that schools serving 90 per cent of the population of the United States are capable of such consolidation organization. The only obstacle in the way of complete consolidation is isolation. This isolation may be due to sparse population, peculiar topography, bad road organization, or poor road equipment. The good roads movement is destined to eliminate all these elements by making it possible to travel quickly and comfortably any distance which proper organization of the schools requires. In 1920, Indiana had 1,000 consolidated schools; Ohio had 950; Iowa, 430; Minnesota, 255; Oklahoma, 185; and Colorado, 79.[1] There are today something like 11,000 consolidated schools in the United States.

Practically every weakness of rural-school organization is possible of elimination under consolidation. The school can be properly graded. Each teacher can be a specialist. The school unit is large enough for good administration. The functions of the school—study, recitation, demonstration and recreation—may be separated. The curriculum can be differentiated. The grounds and buildings can be made adequate for extra-curricular activities.

The weaknesses of the old school buildings were lack of room, no opportunity to separate school processes, poor light and ventilation. The weaknesses of school equipment were poor seats, lack of blackboards, maps, charts, globes, etc., poor heating, poor water and sewerage equipment, and absence of teaching equipment, especially for the lower grades. The weaknesses of the old school grounds were lack of space, lack of play equipment, lack of organization. The solution of some of these does not automatically follow consolidation. All of them are easier supplied however, where the total expense of a given area is consolidated in one plant than when it is scattered over many plants. There are nine different schools per township in Iowa. Each school has one acre of ground. Consolidation on a township basis would give nine acres of

[1] Campbell, M., *In National Educational Association and Proceedings*, 1921, Vol. LIX, p. 615.

land per school. The same amount of building space as is had in the nine district schools would give ample room for all needed classrooms, an auditorium, a gymnasium, a library, a lunchroom, laboratories, and adequate classification and organization of pupils per grade. Duplication of charts, globes, dictionaries, etc. can be eliminated and the money once spent for nine sets of each of these things can be more efficiently expended in school equipment. The cost of digging nine wells and supplying them with pumps will equip a modern water system and even a modern sewerage system for the one consolidated school. There are the same economic savings to be gained by large-scale operation in education as in business, where the patronage is assured.

The attendance per pupil enrolled was 6.8 per cent lower in rural schools than in city schools in 1917-1918. The difference was 18.6 per cent in Kentucky, and 24.2 per cent in Connecticut.[1]

Not all the difference between city and country school attendance percentages is to be accounted for by the difference in the size of the school organizations. Some states are less strict in their laws for rural schools than they are for city schools. Parents do not so universally find use for their children at home in the city as they do in the country. There can be no doubt, however, that a bigger and better school, the addition of the high school and farm-life school, the better means of transportation, and the associations with a greater number of other children all serve to increase both the enrollment and attendance of rural children in the schools. If there were to be no other gain in enrollment than those additional students who now are in high school it would be considerable. Eggleston gives the following facts for Virginia:

> Two years ago, one of my assistants worked out a table of certain communities in which, before consolidation, the number of teachers was fifty-six; after consolidation, forty-five. The gain in enrollment was over 50 per cent. Another table showed that in a

[1] "Statistical Survey of Education, 1917-1918," *Bulletin* No. 31, 1920, pp. 22-23, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington Printing Office, 1920.

given number of communities the enrollment before consolidation was 3,185 children; after consolidation 4,814 children, a gain of 1,629 in enrollment. For the same communities the average attendance before consolidation was 2,107; after consolidation it was 3,617. This included consolidation with and without public transportation. Where public transportation exists the average daily attendance is, of course, very much better.[1]

These statistics show a gain of 51.2 per cent in these communities in enrollment and 71.7 per cent in attendance as a result of consolidation. The one chief objection imposed by the local opponents of consolidation is the cost of transportation. Certainly, the gain in enrollment and attendance is sufficient for all transportation costs. Particularly is this a potent statement when we remember that school attendance and not school expense is the apt ideal or criterion of education.

The city child has had almost a monopoly on the high schools of the nation. Practically all the high-school buildings have been located in the towns. The school systems which maintained them were city systems. Few country boys or girls came, and those who did come came as outsiders and paid tuition. Many times this was the first sure step away from the farm. The boys and girls were taken out of their own homes, out of their own communities, away from farm interests, and had their school hours absorbed with subjects and interests completely foreign to rural affairs.

Not all consolidated schools furnish high-school facilities. Not all aptly located high schools, which country girls and boys attend are attached to rural consolidated schools. One of the first objects of the consolidation movement, however, was to furnish rural high schools and one of the greatest values of the consolidated school is that it makes a high school education possible and accessible to hundreds of thousands of country boys and girls to whom such opportunities were not accessible under the old school organization. Just what per cent of rural grade-school pupils have entered high schools it

[1] Eggleston and Bruire, *The Work of the Rural School,* p. 191, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1918.

is difficult to calculate. The total number of pupils enrolled in secondary schools in 1917-1918 was but 9.3 per cent of the total enrollment of all kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools. There were but 10.3 per cent as many pupils enrolled in the four years of secondary school work as were enrolled in the eight years (*in some only seven years*) of elementary schools.[1] H. R. Bonner, specialist in Educational Statistics, United States Bureau of Education, gives the following facts from which some calculation of rural high-school enrollment can be made: Thirty-four and two-tenths (34.2) per cent of the pupils who enter the first grade of the elementary school ultimately enter the first grade of the high school and 15 per cent graduate. In the city schools, 60 per cent of the beginners enter the first grade of high school and 20 per cent of all public school students graduate.[2] Fifty-eight (58) per cent of all public school pupils are rural children. From these two series of facts it is easy to calculate that but 15.5 per cent of the rural children enter high school and 11.4 per cent graduate. The new rural school must make a high-school education accessible to every rural child. Consolidation will go a long way in making this possible.

Secondary Education Provided for Rural Youth.—If the old rural school was ill adapted to the needs of the rural child, the high school was worse. The advent of the genuine rural high school with a rural curriculum would have come soon in the rural consolidated school if we had never been given the Smith-Hughes Act. The farm-life school program will come all the more rapidly under the encouragement of federal assistance. The agricultural vocational education program, on the other hand will develop more rapidly because of the consolidation movement. North Carolina had a system of farm-life schools prior to the passing of the Smith-Hughes Act. Georgia had Congressional district, agricultural, high schools. Mississippi had country high schools and a number of other states gave aid to village high schools to support agricultural training.

[1] "Biennial Survey of Education 1916-1918," Vol. III, *Bulletin* No. 90, 1919, pp. 146-147, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education.

[2] *National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings*, 1921, 59 p, 799.

New York has a number of sub-agricultural schools with courses which run for six months per year for three years.

The vocational, agricultural, secondary school system established in every state in the United States under the Smith-Hughes Act is the one outstanding step taken in the direction of making education beyond the elementary grades possible for rural boys and girls. This act will probably ultimately establish a high school within the reach of every farm boy and girl in the United States. These high schools will teach agriculture and domestic science to rural boys and girls and adults. The Act provides for schools, teachers, and teacher training. Education can be pursued throughout a four-year course, through a shorter period, by night school, continuation schools, and farm project work. Without doubt, in a few more years many more persons will be studying agriculture and home economics in these schools, than are studying these subjects in colleges. Thousands of boys and girls who would never have entered high schools, had these schools not been vocationalized, will be in these secondary schools. The Smith-Hughes schools and the rural consolidated schools should, and will, work hand in hand in offering more and better education to rural folk.

By way of summarizing the part which consolidation is destined to play in the advent of the New Rural School, let us list the advantage of a consolidated school over all other school systems:

1. It makes possible a better school curriculum.
2. It enlists and consolidates financial support.
3. It insures better school buildings.
4. It provides better school equipment.
5. It makes possible better supervision and administration.
6. It provides bigger school grounds.
7. It grades the school work.
8. It specializes the work of the teachers.
9. It increases enrollment.
10. It increases attendance.
11. It makes possible rural high-school training.
12. It increases the scope of vocational work.

13. It increases community activity and develops community consciousness.

14. It encourages good roads.

15. There is considerable evidence that it increases the value of lands adjacent to it.

It performs its functions both as an educational and community institution better than any other school does.

It is the New Rural School.

Community Activities and Consolidated Schools.—The consolidated school is far more of a community institution than the small district school ever was. It is not only an apt place to hold community meetings but it enlarges community activities and develops a community consciousness which never existed before. The act of consolidating in itself develops a community consciousness. The system of transporting students forms a network of community organizations. The school building is generally equipped with an auditorium in which school and community meetings can be held. The grounds are large enough and there are enough students to develop athletic teams. Many times moving-picture equipment is installed in the school. Farmers' institutes, extension courses, and demonstrations are staged at the school. The teachers are great enough in numbers to constitute a community influence. The building is a pride to the community. A community library is often housed at the school. The community is in every way enlivened and bettered because it, for the first time in its existence, probably, has a real community institution.

J. H. Cook, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Ohio, quotes the following from a resident of a consolidated district:

> Before the schools were centralized my son seemed to know no one when we rode about the township. Now as we ride about, a boy or a girl will yell "Hello, Sammy," or wave greetings at a distance. When I inquire, "Who is this?" he often gives names entirely unfamiliar to me. Through my son I have become acquainted with many excellent people whom, otherwise, I would never have known.[1]

[1] Cook, J. H., "The Consolidated School as a Community Center," *Publication American Sociological Society,* Vol. II, pp. 97-105, 1916.

Mr. Cook made a survey of a number of communities and found that there were over ten times as many public meetings held in these communities the first year after consolidation, as there were the year before. Eggleston and Bruire relate about the same experience in Virginia.

THE COMMUNITY AND EXTENSION PROGRAMS OF THE RURAL SCHOOL

Project and Demonstration Work.—The new rural school will have a school garden, from five to ten acres of demonstration plot, and will include in its program home-project work. It will be prepared to do this because it will be a big consolidated school and will have teachers especially trained in agriculture. It will have provision for a hot school lunch and provision for sewing. These will furnish a basis for project and demonstration work in home economics. A few years ago such a scheme would have smacked of pure imagination or would have seemed like an Utopian dream. There are now so many examples of these things that to relate individual instances is no longer apt. Nor are all these programs attached to the Smith-Hughes, or even to high schools. So called junior-project work is becoming a system. Boys and girls from ten to thirteen years of age are organized in club and project work. College extension specialists in boys' and girls' club work have found the school an advantageous unit of club and project organization. Farm and home demonstration agents work with the school teacher and school children. The International Harvester Company has developed an elaborate system of vitalized agricultural teaching. "Four-H" clubs have been organized in hundreds of elementary schools. Hot school lunches have been provided in one-room schools. The combination of the new ideas, the larger school, and the agricultural and domestic science teachers will ultimately make these things universal. With the coming of these potential phases and methods of education the extension of the school program to the farm and home and to cover all-year-round projects is sure to follow.

The school has so long confined its activities to such narrow limits and its subjects have had so little practical value to life and work that we have come to think of education only in relation to those who are of so-called school age. There is nothing about the subject matter of education, human nature, or the learning process, that need confine education to children. If the school can impart a knowledge of facts and processes that are valuable to life, this knowledge is as valuable to a person of one age as another. We have thought of adult education only in terms of the "moonlight schools" of Kentucky and North Carolina. The New Rural School will lead us to think of it in terms of an extension of the whole school program to the adults of the community.

Adult education for the elimination of adult illiteracy has furnished the classic examples of rural adult education in the United States. The story of the moonlight schools reads like a novel.[1] There are seventeen states now maintaining schools for adult illiterates. These schools have carried their programs far beyond the purpose of merely eliminating illiteracy. The author has seen high-class, well dressed, prosperous, intelligent North Carolina farmers who were attending adult night schools. The statement of one of these men is indicative of a new day in rural education. This man said:

> Yes I can read and write. I can't remember when I learned to do either. But there are lots of things I don't know which the younger generation is learning at school. I just thought I would like to avail myself of the same opportunities my children have. So I am going to night school.

The value of these adult illiterate schools have kept us from seeing other types and possibilities of adult education.

When the teaching of agriculture, domestic science, health, and civics has become universal, when the consolidated and Smith-Hughes schools have become a part of every rural community's educational equipment, when boys' and girls' farm and home-project work has registered their values a little more extensively and the teachers of these practical subjects have

[1] See *Survey*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 429-431, January, 1916.

become all-year-round agents of rural education; we may expect to see adult education at the school, and on the farm, a part of the regular rural school program.

Community Education.—The types of work which have stood out at Rock Hill, South Carolina, and Sparks, Maryland, as phenomenal were striking because they were exceptional. Today there are thousands of consolidated schools which have carried their farm and community programs so far beyond these early attainments, that these examples are no longer striking, except that they pointed the way for others.

The centering of community activities at the big school building, the community library at the school, institutes, recreation and dramatic programs, farm-life institutes, school and community fairs, school and community pageants, and the like have brought the community to the school. Boys' and girls' club work projects, and farm-demonstration teaching have taken the school program to the community. Ultimately, these things will lead to a program of extension which will be as elaborate and more vital than the extension program of the Agricultural Colleges. Health, hygiene, and sanitary inspection and teaching, civics and moral instruction, recreation, and community cooperation, as well as practical farm and home education, will center the community at the school and radiate the influence of the school throughout the community.

In this chapter we have presented many matters as if they were quite universally accomplished facts. They are not universal yet, by any means. They have demonstrated their feasibility and value wherever they have been tried. They are ideals to be striven for. They are indicative of what the New Rural School must and will be.

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CHAPTER XV

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL HEALTH

PREVALENT NOTIONS ABOUT RURAL HEALTH

False Popular Notions.—Popular notions about health, health conditions, and health opportunities in rural districts are often incorrect. A great many people imagine that rural inhabitants live in a state of continuous high health. They think of country people as a hardy folk. This semi-fallacious notion is held by both city and country people. The country people take pride in the notion, and pity those who are robbed of the opportunities for a hardy life such as country people live. City people assume that the country people, both male and female, are capable of a much more arduous life and of more strenuous labors than they, themselves, could endure. These conclusions are reached from two seemingly perfectly valid bases. In the first place, it is observed that country people work long and unstandardized hours, in good and bad weather, and do heavy work. Often the domestic servants in the city homes are girls who come from country districts. The willingness of these country girls to subject themselves to the burden of tasks, which the upper- and middle-class city women would not do, leads these same city women to think of country women as physically their superior. In the second place, they reason that fresh air, fresh food, and fresh water are all conducive to good health. They know that all of these things are had in abundance in the country and they, therefore, reason that from good health opportunities must come good health. Country people, likewise, reason that they are free from the disease evils of the city—congestion, lack of fresh air, cold-storage food, and inside work. These lines of reasoning are not exactly fallacious, but they fail to comprehend all the facts.

There are also some fallacious popular notions about rural disease. The story of vacation parties returning from country districts infested with virulent typhoid germs is usually an exaggeration of fact. The popular notion that country districts contribute more than their share of insanity, especially of the female insane, because of country loneliness, is belied by the statistics on insanity. The notion prevails that, because dirt is found everywhere on the farm and because even filth is bound to be found about farm premises, therefore, the farmstead teems with disease germs. This is also a false conclusion, based upon the notion that disease germs are spontaneously generated in filth.

Correct Popular Notions about Rural Health.—There are some facts, about country health conditions and sanitation, which are so universal that they are well known to all people. There are certain diseases such as trachoma, typhoid, and entritis, that are much more prevalent in rural districts than in the nation as a whole. Insanitation is almost universal in rural districts. Personal hygiene is at low ebb among rural people. Health agencies and medical experts are practically all located in towns and cities. The knowledge of these facts is universal, and the popular notions about their menace is correct.

General Facts About Rural Health

Rural Health Advantages and Disadvantages.—A quick introduction to the facts which make or destroy health among farm population can probably be made by categorically listing the advantages and disadvantages which inhere in rural life and develop out of farm processes:

Health Advantages:
Abundance of fresh air and sunshine.
Small number of persons per area.
More outdoor life and exercise.
Plainer, simpler, fresher food.
Few accidents.
Absence of noise and other disturbances.

Health Disadvantages:
Exposure to weather.
Heavy strains.
Poor medical and drug facilities.
Abundance of animals, insects, and other disease carriers.
Overwork at times.

There are numberless other health facts which are prevalent or lacking in rural districts, but those listed are the ones which most automatically inhere in rural life conditions themselves.

Comparison of Urban and Rural Health Facts.—(1) Death rates. The rural death rate in the United States has always been lower than the urban death rate.

TABLE 48.—RURAL AND URBAN DEATH RATES FOR REGISTRATION AREA OF THE UNITED STATES[1]

Year	Urban	Rural	Rural Advantage	Urban Advantage
1901–1905	17.4	14.1	3.3	
1906–1910	16.4	14.2	2.2	
1911	15.4	14.3	1.1	
1912	14.9	13.9	1.0	
1913	15.1	14.1	1.0	
1914	14.7	14.0	.7	
1915	4.4	14.0	.4	
1916	15.1	14.6	.5	
1917	15.2	14.6	.6	
1918	19.3	18.1	1.2	
1919	13.5	13.4	.1	
1920	13.7	14.0	...	.3
1921	11.8	12.9	...	1.1
1922	12.3	13.3	...	1.0

These facts, which are outstanding in these data, are that the death rates in both rural and urban areas have declined fairly steadily, but that the urban rate has been reduced much more rapidly than the rural rate. While the urban rate was being reduced 4.5 per thousand of living persons, the rural rate was reduced but 1.2. In four states the urban rate has declined until it is now lower than the rural rate.

[1] All counties having in them towns or cities with populations of over 10,000 were taken as urban. All others were taken as rural. *Mortality Statistics, United States.* 1914 to 1922.

TABLE 49—STATES IN WHICH RURAL DEATH RATE EXCEEDS URBAN DEATH RATE[1]

Year	California		Massachusetts		New York		Washington	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1914.....	14.0	13.1	14.6	14.6	14.5	15.3	8.4	7.9
1915.....	13.8	13.6	14.3	15.0	14.3	15.4	7.8	8.3
1916.....	13.5	13.5	15.1	15.5	14.5	15.7	7.2	8.2
1917.....	13.6	14.1	14.9	15.4	14.4	15.8	7.3	7.8

The urban death rate fell below the rural death rate in New York in 1910; in Massachusetts in 1914; in Washington in 1915; and in California in 1916. While the cities have been solving their health problems, the country has been doing little to solve its health problems, although all the indications are that it has the greater inherent health advantages.

Information obtainable from the examination of men drafted for service in the army in 1917 and 1918 furnishes some health data. The classification was based upon selected cities of over 25,000 inhabitants, which are called urban, and all others, which are called rural. This classifies thousands of men as rural inhabitants whose whole lives have been lived in fairly good-sized cities. Furthermore, it is stated in the report that it is highly probable that city examining boards were much more critical than boards which operated in small cities, towns, and the open country. Accepting the figures as they are given, the following facts are revealed:[2]

1. There were found 557 defects per 1,000 men examined. For rural districts, the rate was 528, and for urban districts it was 609. The rural rate was about seven-eighths that of the urban.

2. For 115 specific defects, the rural rate was higher in 54, and the urban in 61.

3. The five diseases and defects in which the rural rate was most pronounced were pterygium (eye disease), trachoma

[1] *Op. cit.*, 1914, pp. 152-168; 1915, pp. 144-152; 1916, pp. 108-127; 1917, pp. 126-143.

[2] *Defects Found in Drafted Men*, pp. 348-403, War Department, Washington, D. C., 1920.

(eye disease), mental deficiency, muscular rheumatism, and bullet or other recent wounds. The five in which the urban rate was most pronounced were drug addiction, otitis media (abscessed ear), underweight, underheight, perforated eardrum, and cataract.

4. Some outstanding diseases of rural districts were:

Pellagra	6.50 times city rate
Trachoma	2.23 times city rate
Mental deficiency	1.82 times city rate
Anemia	1.57 times city rate
Cancer	1.43 times city rate
Pulmonary tuberculosis	1.29 times city rate
Benign tumor	1.22 times city rate
Asthma	1.21 times city rate

5. The mortality from the common diseases in the camps decreased in ratio to the number of urban recruits.[1]

A number of fairly careful comparisons have been made of defects found in urban and rural school children. The most extensive analysis of this kind was found among 500,000 school children. The following table gives the comparative percentages for various defects:[2]

TABLE 50.—DEFECTS IN RURAL AND URBAN SCHOOL CHILDREN

Defects	Urban, Per Cent	Rural, Per Cent	Rural Excess, Per Cent
Defective teeth	33	48	15
Defective tonsils	16	28	12
Adenoids	12	23	12
Defective eyes	12	23	13
Malnutrition	7	16	8

In addition to the data presented in the table, it was found that rural children had four times as many ear defects as urban children. In Renville County, Minnesota, a survey of

[1] LOVE, A. G., and DAVENPORT, C. B., "Immunity of City-bred Recruits," *Archives of Internal Medicine*, August, 1919, Vol. XXIV, pp. 129-153.
[2] WOOD, T. D., *Health Essentials for Rural School Children.*

5,826 school children made by Miss Bengston found that 4,095, or 81 per cent, of them had one or more defects.

Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman of the Prudential Life Insurance Company gives the following data: [1]

TABLE 51.—DISEASES CAUSING MORE DEATHS IN COUNTRY THAN IN CITIES

Disease	City Death Rate	Rural Death Rate	Rural Excess
Typhoid fever	22.6	24.4	1.8
Malarial fever	2.6	3.7	1.1
Influenza	14.8	27.8	13.0
Dysentery	6.8	10.2	3.4
Rheumatism	8.4	8.6	.2
Apoplexy and paralysis	87.9	111.9	24.0
Disease of circulatory system	178.1	179.6	1.5

The net excess for these diseases per 100,000 living persons is 290.[2]

The mortality statistics for the registration area of the United States show about the same ratios. They show, in addition, that smallpox, measles, whooping cough, pellagra, epilepsy, and convulsions of infants are greater causes of death among rural than among urban populations.

This rather elaborate array of data is given, not to prove that the rural morbidity and mortality rates are higher than in the city, but to set forth the health problems which confront rural communities. The following table, together with those presented earlier in this chapter shows that the general death rate among the rural population is not as great as among the urban population, but deaths from certain types of diseases are in excess in rural areas.

Summary of the Weak Spots in the Rural Health Situation:

1. The great number of defects found in rural school children, the fact that the infant death rate is high and that children's diseases which leave bad after effects are more prevalent

[1] HOFFMAN, F. L., *Rural Health and Welfare,* pp. 6, 13, Prudential Life Insurance Company of America.

[2] Rate is per 100,000 living persons in population.

TABLE 52.—DEATH RATE BY TYPES OF DISEASES

Class of Disease	City Rate per 100,000	Rural Rate per 100,000	Difference in Rates[1] per 100,000
General	396.0	350.6	− 45.4
Of the nervous system and organs of special senses	129.6	139.4	+ 9.8
Of circulatory system	222.5	182.4	− 40.1
Of respiratory system	207.9	146.5	− 61.4
Of digestive system	158.5	240.0	+ 34.5
Non-venereal of genital urinary system	140.9	101.1	− 39.8
The Peral state	17.7	15.3	+ 2.4
Of skin and cellular tissue	4.6	4.2	− .4
Of bones and organs of locomotion	4.2	1.8	− 2.3
Malformation	17.0	14.7	− 10.5
Early infancy	81.6	71.1	− 13.2
Old age	9.0	22.2	+ 25.9
External causes	120.0	94.0	− 25.9

The plus and minus signs refer to rural excess or deficiency.

among rural people, all go to show that the early life of an individual is lived under a health handicap on the farm.

2. The facts that fewer rural recruits were rejected than city recruits, that the rural death rate is lower than the city death rate, and that farm people are considered good risks by life insurance companies, all tend to show that the general condition of rural living offsets the earlier handicaps of rural life.

3. The study of the death rate for the nation, or for the separate states, shows that the city, by attacking its health problem, is rapidly overcoming the country's inherent health advantages.

4. Diseases due to exposure, strain, and overwork are in excess in rural districts.

5. Diseases fostered by insanitation and lack of personal hygiene are in excess in rural districts.

6. Deaths and diseases due to accidents are comparatively few among rural people. A study of the statistics given above justifies these conclusions; and these conclusions set the major health tasks of rural communities.

[1] Mortality Statistics of the United States, 1917, pp. 126-129.

THE RURAL HOME AND HEALTH

Food and Water.—Proper food, proper care of food, proper preparation of food, and correct food consumption habits are the chief causes of good health. People who live in rural homes have great natural advantages over all other sections of the national population. They are in a position which makes it comparatively easy to have fresh vegetables and fruits, fresh milk and butter, and fresh water. There are problems, however, which attach themselves to each of these food elements. Fresh vegetables and fruits decay easily; the garbage from them, if left about the house, soon becomes a breeding place for disease germs. All these foods demand proper preparation for consumption. Fresh milk and butter must be handled in the most careful manner, or they become very ready carriers of disease germs. If it be from a source that is liable to pollution, water, however much it may sparkle, is not pure. The sources from which foods are gotten are near at hand on the farm, but the facilities for the proper care of them are lacking more often in the rural than in the city home. Each farm family controls the sources of the greater part of its food supply. To control them correctly is both expensive and difficult. A survey of 51,544 farm homes, made by the United States Public Health Service, disclosed the fact that 68 per cent of the water supplies, from which water was used for drinking and culinary purposes, was obviously exposed to potentially dangerous contamination from privy contents or from promiscuous deposits of human excreta, and that, in a majority of cases, the water supply was exposed to unwholesome pollution from stable yards and pigpens. On only 32.88 per cent of the farms were the dwellings effectively screened against flies in the summer time.[1] In a survey of fifty farms in Howard County, Missouri, Lehmann found the bacillus coli (bacteria from some warm-blooded animal) in every well or cistern of the fifty, proving that, in every case, these sources of farm-home water supplies were susceptible to contamina-

[1] LUMSDEN, L. L., "Rural Sanitation," *Public Health Bulletin* No. 94, United Public Health Service, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., 1918.

tion.[1] In Greenville County, South Carolina, 93.42 per cent of the water supplies was regarded as unsafe.[2]

The location, construction, and care of the source of the farm home water supply are major considerations in rural health, for typhoid fever, dysentery, cholera, and many other parasitic diseases are carried by water. Two of these diseases, typhoid fever and dysentery, are much more prevalent in rural than in urban districts.

In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community, 71.34 per cent of the wells or cisterns were located within 100 feet of the privy; 34.83 per cent were within less than 50 feet. In this same community, 23.12 per cent of the wells or cisterns were within 100 feet of the animal pens and yards, and 11.33 per cent were within less than 50 feet of such sources of possible pollution.[3] In a vast majority of cases, country wells are shallow, the walls and curbing are poor, and the wells are seldom cleaned. In the Southern states, the open well prevails at thousands of farm homes. In states just a little farther north, the shallow cistern is in use. In mountainous sections, the use of springs is prevalent. At probably two-thirds of the farm homes of the nation, shallow wells furnish the farm water supply. Deep wells are the only comparatively sure source of pure water, for they alone do not demand the care of filters, and are little liable to surface pollution.

The problem of handling the milk supply on the farm is as difficult as that of handling the water supply. In fact, more difficult, for, once a safe source of water supply is constructed, the water problem is largely solved, whereas the handling of the milk supply demands constant care under the best conditions. City sources of milk are generally carefully inspected. The dairy herds are given tuberculosis tests, the places and methods of milking, cooling, and storing milk are all inspected by city, county, or state authorities; on the

[1] Taylor, Carl C. and Lehmann, E. W., *An Economic, Social and Sanitary Survey of Ashland Community, Howard County, Missouri,* Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, 1920, Columbia, Missouri.

[2] United States *Health Bulletin* No. 94, Washington, D. C.

[3] Taylor, Carl C., Yoder, F. R. and Zimmerman, C. C., *A Social Study of Farm Tenancy in Southeast Missouri,* (unpublished).

farm, there is no such overhead care exercised. The dairy cows are not often tested for tuberculosis, the places for milking are generally inadequate, methods of milking and place of storage are not inspected. Often the milk is kept in open crocks or cans in a cave, or some other cool place. In the Columbia Community, Boone County, Missouri, only 59.4 per cent of the homes, and in the Sikeston, Missouri, Community, only 5.8 per cent of the homes, were provided with refrigerators or ice boxes.[1] A refrigerator of some kind is essential for the proper care of milk, butter, and other dairy products. There are about twenty diseases definitely traced to milk; among these are typhoid, tuberculosis, and dysentery, of which diseases the rural death rate greatly exceeds the urban death rate.

The chief health problems related to vegetables are not those traceable to diseases caused by fresh foods, though dysentery, typhoid fever, cholera, and parasitic diseases may result from the eating of contaminated, uncooked vegetables. The chief health problems, that attach themselves to vegetables and fruits, are those which result from the decay of this food and the garbage from these materials. Too often, the method of handling the offcasts of fruits and vegetables is the open garbage or "slop can," kept in or near the house. This is easily infested with flies and mosquitoes, both of which are carriers of disease, and neither of which have any hesitancy in traveling from barnyards or privies and garbage cans to the table. In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community, 57.8 per cent of the housewives threw dishwater and house refuse in the yard. In this community, many of the families had no hogs nor chickens. In a community where these animals are prevalent, the sludge and garbage, after a period of accumulation at the house, is generally fed to them.

The amount and types of food consumed by farm families are generally adequate; although it is probable that farmers consume more of the heavy food than even manual laborers require. The average farm family of four and eight-tenths adult males consumes 1,653 more pounds of food per year than does the average workman's family of the city. This is 346 pounds

[1] *Ibid.*

per adult male.[1] These data are for 950 farm families from fourteen different states, and from 280 workingmen's families in eleven representative cities of the United States.[2] They are, therefore, probably representative of the Nation. The following table analyzes the diet of these two groups:[3]

TABLE 53.—AVERAGE YEARLY CONSUMPTION OF CERTAIN FOODS IN URBAN AND RURAL FAMILIES WITH EQUIVALENT OF 4.8 MALES PER FAMILY

Kind of Food	City Workingmen's Families	Farm Families
	Pound	Pound
Meat, eggs, lard, and lard substitutes	907	1,116
Butter and cheese	144	179
Other dairy products	2,318	2,616
Cream and evaporated milk	98	55
Sugars, syrups, molasses, and honey	287	474
Fruits: fresh, canned, and dried	952	1,207
Vegetables: fresh, canned, and dried	2,177	3,248
Coffee	58	39
Cereals and their products	1,742	1,362

It will be seen from this table, that farm families consume more meats, butter, cheese, milk products, fresh cream, sugars, fruit, and vegetables. City families consume more evaporated milk, coffee, and cereal productions. It is quite probable, that farm families eat too much meat, and in the Southern States too much cereal, especially corn bread. The table reveals quite clearly that farm families have diets which, for health purposes, are superior to those of city workmen. The surveyors—doctors who gathered the information for city workingmen's

[1] These data were calculated upon the basis of a scientific standard of living by means of which all members of the family were equated in terms of adult male consumers. The calculations and comparisons were made by C. C. ZIMMERMAN in his Master's Thesis *The Standard of Living on the Farm,* North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[2] Bureau of Applied Economics, "Standards of Living," p. 3., *Bulletin* No. 7, Washington, D. C.; and United States Department of Agriculture, *Farmers' Bulletin* No. 1082, and *Department Bulletin* No. 410.

[3] *Ibid,* and ZIMMERMAN Thesis.

families, asserted that their diets were deficient in whole milk, fresh vegetables, and fruits. Farm families consume 298 pounds more milk, 255 pounds more fruit, and 1,071 pounds more vegetables each year than do city workingmen's families.

Farmers' wives and daughters are popularly thought to be universally good cooks. There is a vast difference between merely being able, with one's own hands, to cook food to suit habitual tastes, and in being a skilled dietitian. Farm women need to learn proper methods of canning, preserving, and cooking as well as, or more than, other women, because the whole task falls on them, whereas specialized agencies generally do these things for city homes. They need to study balanced diets, child feedings, and food values for the sake of the health of their families.

Sewage and Sludge Disposal.—The chief health menaces of improper disposal of sewage and sludge are: (1) Sewage, particularly human excreta, which carries disease germs by means of contaminated water supplies, and because of being infested with flies. (2) Improper means and methods of disposal which create menaces. (3) Lack of toilet facilities which leads to unhygienic and health-damaging habits.

There is not a health need in rural districts greater than the need for sanitary and well-equipped toilets. There is not a problem to which the solution is better known. Unhappily, the convenience of the big out of doors, the privacy of the isolated farm family, and the high cost of individual water and sewage systems have left this problem largely unsolved. Out-door privies furnish the almost universal and sole means for the disposal of human excreta. The majority of them are not screened. Many times, even, such facilities are lacking on the farm. Surface drainage and seepage, flies and other insects, and even dust particles carried in the wind menace the food and water supplies of the farm family. The privy, for convenience' sake, is practically always located close to the dwelling, which adds to the menace. We have already noted the proximity of the wells to privies in one community (the Sikeston, Missouri, Community). Information from other communities would but corroborate these facts as being repre-

sentative. In the "Sanitary Survey of Fifteen counties," in as many different states, made in 1914, 1915, and 1916, by the United States Public Health Service,[1] it was found that, in ten of these fifteen counties, over one-fifth of the rural homes were without toilets of any kind. The rate ran as high as 67.9 per cent in Orange County, North Carolina, and 73.8 per cent in Union County, Mississippi. In every county, in the fifteen states covered by the survey, over 90 per cent of the homes had "grossly insanitary methods of disposing of human excreta." In nine of the counties, the percentages were 99.

There are six well-known methods of disposing of human excreta on the farm. The first and best is that of an indoor toilet with a septic tank, or other decomposing agency. Because of its high cost, it will be a long while before this method is at all universal. There are five "so-called dry methods" which should make sanitary disposal on farms universal. These five methods are known as the "earth pit," the "water-tight privy," the "pail closet," the "dry earth, ashes, or lime closet," and the "chemical closet."[2]

In every type of closet, the requisite for sanitation is screening from flies, guarding against seepage and chemical decomposition. No one of them is expensive and every farm should be equipped with one type or another of these toilets.

The failure to make sanitary disposal of sludge and sewage always creates a nuisance about the premises. The casting of dishwater in the back yard makes possible surface draining or seeping into wells and cisterns, creates mud holes, and attracts flies and other insects, and chickens. In addition, it establishes a very unsightly spot near the dwelling. In the Sikeston, Missouri, Community, only 9 out of 428 houses were provided with sinks and other facilities for the disposal of sludge. In a survey of 10,000 farm homes, made through the home demonstration agents of the United States Depart-

[1] *Bulletin* No. 94, "Rural Sanitation, United States Department of Health, Washington, D. C.

[2] Warren, G. M., "Sewage and Sewerage of Farm Homes," *Farmers' Bulletin* No. 1227, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1922; and Lumsden, L. L. and Stiles, C. W., "Safe Disposal of Human Excreta at unscreened Homes," *Public Health Bulletin,* No. 68, Treasury Department, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C., 1917.

ment, it was found that 52 per cent of the homes had sinks. In many cases, these sinks are household conveniences only, the sludge being piped for disposal to some spot not far from the house.[1]

Bad personal habits, which menace health, are bound to result from bad sanitary environments and lack of health facilities. Because farm homes are lacking in running water, toilets, and sewage disposal, farm people fail to take baths, wash their teeth, or even properly cleanse their hands and the food material before getting meals, and neglect to respond immediately to nature's calls. The results are constipation, uncleanliness, and ill health.

The Farmstead.—There are possible many things in the location and organization of the farmstead which may constitute menaces to health. The location of the barns, pens, and yards, in which animals are kept, may be bad. They should be at a safe distance from the house, and located in such places as to assure drainage away from the well and the house. Manure and other materials in which flies breed should be well taken care of. Rats and other rodents and vermin are almost sure to infest old buildings. The house itself is likely to be old, and to be heated, lighted, and ventilated poorly. The whole farmstead is the living place of farm people. It should be located more in reference to health than even to farm convenience. Its location on high ground, its organization with reference to buildings and livestock, its building material and its planting are all matters which must be given careful consideration for the sake of the health of the people who live and work there.

FARMING AND HEALTH

Farm Work and Health.—Farmers are almost universally hard-working people. Farm work must be carried on at such seasons, and during such hours, as crop and animal care demand. The necessities of the farm and the farm-home pro-

[1] Ward, Florence E., United States Department of Agriculture, *Department Circular* No. 148, Washington, D. C., November, 1920.

cesses lead, in the case of practically all farm men and women, and often in the case of even farm boys and girls, to extreme and damaging fatigue. This is probably held to account for the great number of deaths from apoplexy among farmers. Farmers are subjected to the severity of all kinds of weather. Livestock and poultry demand the greatest care when the weather is bad. The results are that men often work with wet clothes and cold feet. Undoubtedly, these facts contribute materially to the high rate of muscular rheumatism and pulmonary tuberculosis, which prevails in rural populations. Farmers are often subjected to severe and sudden strains in handling animals and lifting heavy loads. Because of this, hernia is common among farmers. Women are compelled to lift many heavy loads of fuel and water. This, together with the driving care of household duties, often places them in a precarious condition at the time of childbirth. Even the children's health is, at times, jeopardized, by being too early asked to participate in farm tasks, or by being compelled to do things which they are not yet strong enough to do. There is scarcely a farmer or farm woman, particularly in the areas where the farm entrepreneur does his own work, who does not overdo, either constantly or at some time.

Farm Accidents.—Because the persons injured by accidents in the occupation of farming do not suffer the loss of their jobs and become public wards, because there are some other occupations which are far more dangerous than agriculture, and because farm accidents happen individually and do not result in some great catastrophe, we are liable to conclude erroneously that accidents contribute very little to the ill health of farm people. As a matter of fact, the occupation of farming stands about midway in the list of occupational accidents.[1] Many of the occupations included in the list are professions, the occupational conduct of which has practically nothing to do with the accidents which happen to the men engaged in them. If we compare the rural worker with other manual workers, we find that he ranks comparatively low in accidents.

[1] United States Department of Labor, *Bureau of Labor Statistics,* p. 29, March, 1915.

A quarry or concrete worker stands ten times as great a chance, as the farmer, of being injured while at work. A carpenter or mason stands five chances to the farmer's one. Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, in a study of the State of New York, 1914-1915, shows that farm labor, as to dangerous occupations, stands thirty-second in a list of thirty-four occupations. In Massachusetts, however, farm labor stands nineteenth in a list of forty-two. These two bodies of statistics are based upon "Incurred Losses per $1,000 of earned payrolls," and so are not as good indices as straight mortality or morbidity rates. The same authority gives the fatal accidents for all occupations in 1916. In a list of twenty-one industries, agricultural pursuits stand twentieth. The agricultural pursuits rate was only .35 per 1,000 employed, or one person out of 3,500 employed.[1]

If it be true that the problem of fatal accidents is not as prevalent in agriculture as in other manual pursuits, it is probably just as true that minor injuries are more prevalent. Farmers work so universally in a hand-machine-animal power arrangement, that they are very likely to suffer injury from small wounds, scratches, bruises, sprains, blisters, and even bites from animals. They are exposed to the severity of weather under such uncontrolled conditions that they are likely to suffer from heat prostration, sun-stroke, and frost bite. Farm women are liable to suffer burns, scratches, and wounds from hand tools. Every one of these things causes misery, and may result in complications which are serious. Farm people need to know means and methods of first aid, because their injuries are many, and often too slight to warrant calling for medical assistance.

MENTAL HEALTH ON THE FARM

Statistical Facts on Rural Mental Health and Disease.—It was seen from the War Department's statistics for drafted men, that mental deficiency, hysteria, and epilepsy were all more

[1] The information just given is from charts furnished by the Statistical Department of the Prudential Insurance Company of America.

prevalent defects among rural than among urban recruits. On the other hand, the special report of the "Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions" in the United States, shows the rural rate to be lower than the urban. Since the statistics vary so widely between the different sections of the nation, and since the percentage of rural population is so much greater in some sections than in others, it is practically impossible to draw any sure conclusion from the census statistics.

The following table gives the facts in detail:

The Interpretation and Exposition of the Facts on Rural Mental Health.—These data would seem to indicate a much higher rate of insanity in urban than in rural districts. In all but six states, there were a greater number of commitments per 100,000 inhabitants from the cities than from the country. In twenty states, the urban rate was more than twice as high as the rural rate. In six states, it was three times as high. That we cannot draw sure conclusions about the comparative health of rural and urban folk is apparent to any one who knows how reticent rural people are about admitting members of their families to any type of public institution. Furthermore, such striking differences in rates as the table above shows, to exist between states of the same geographic area, clearly indicate that the state laws and their administration have much to do with the number of persons committed to the hospitals for the insane.

COMMUNITY HEALTH CONTROL AND PROMOTION

Promotion of Health through the Schools.—Health training should be a part of our common education. The common school is a proper place to begin such training. Such training can be by means of classroom teaching, physical training, health supervision of children and teachers, health inspection and examination, corrective gymnastics, and by using the school plant and whole school program as a demonstration of correct living. The school can be used by health officials as a clinic, and illustrated and other popular educational lectures can be given at the school house. The school records can be

TABLE 54.—INSANE ADMITTED TO HOSPITALS PER 100,000 POPULATION[1]

District and State	Urban Rate	Rural Rate	Urban Excess
New England:			
Maine	74.7	61.2	13.5
New Hampshire	73.3	75.2	1.9
Vermont	68.1	80.2	12.1
Massachusetts	122.4	118.2	4.2
Rhode Island	84.2	250.6	66.4
Connecticut	42.9	153.2	58.3
Middle Atlantic:			
New York	101.5	61.8	38.7
New Jersey	65.9	55.2	10.7
Pennsylvania	71.5	33.2	38.3
East North Central:			
Ohio	85.6	46.0	39.6
Indiana	56.0	37.8	18.2
Illinois	82.1	48.4	33.3
Michigan	80.5	58.7	21.8
Wisconsin	128.2	85.5	
West North Central:			
Minnesota	66.1	66.8	4.7
Iowa	89.8	54.8	35.0
Missouri	82.4	58.1	24.3
North Dakota	50.6	33.9	16.7
South Dakota	37.3	32.0	5.3
Nebraska	36.5	33.5	3.3
Kansas	87.1	38.8	48.3
South Atlantic:			
Delaware	85.5	40.9	44.6
Maryland	130.5	55.4	65.1
District of Columbia	147.7		
Virginia	88.6	49.5	39.1
West Virginia	68.6	31.2	37.6
North Carolina	59.7	20.6	39.1
South Carolina	116.1	27.0	89.1
Florida	48.4	21.0	27.4
East South Central:			
Kentucky	85.9	38.4	47.5
Tennessee	61.2	30.0	31.2
Georgia	76.3	33.8	42.5
Alabama	61.3	31.5	29.8
Mississippi	40.5	32.6	7.9
West South Central:			
Arkansas	13.3	16.8	2.5
Louisiana	52.8	15.0	37.8
Oklahoma	52.8	40.3	12.5
Texas	67.9	27.8	40.1

[1]Towns of 2,500 and fewer inhabitants are considered rural.

TABLE 54.—INSANE ADMITTED TO HOSPITALS PER 100,000 POPULATION[1] (*Continued*)

District and State (*Continued*)	Urban Rate (*Continued*)	Rural Rate (*Continued*)	Urban Excess (*Continued*)
Mountain:			
Montana	123.7	42.0	81.7
Idaho	81.5	45.4	36.1
Wyoming	25.5	30.2	4.7
Colorado	121.8	33.5	88.3
New Mexico	62.3	19.6	52.7
Nevada	157.1	51.4	55.7
Utah	39.3	14.0	25.3
Arizona	126.5	35.4	91.1
Pacific:			
Washington	96.9	47.2	49.5
Oregon	101.9	58.5	43.4
California	69.2	37.8	31.4

made to show the chronological history of every child that passes through it.[2]

Before many of the things just mentioned will be done, an enlarged vision of the place of constructive health education will have to be gained. School buildings, curricula, staffs, and programs will have to be constructed on the basis of including health as one of the major objects of education. Since the National Education Association has named health training as one of the basic elements in common-school education, we may expect to see rapid progress made toward the goals which have just been described.

The Hospital.—One of the greatest drawbacks to rural health is the lack of medical agencies in rural districts. Hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries are, and must practically all be located in towns and cities. Simple clinics can be held at the rural school, particularly if it is a consolidated school. But dispensaries need more consistent and constant direction than can be furnished by the school, the chief task of which is

[1] Towns of 2,500 and fewer inhabitants are considered rural.

[2] "Health for School Children," *School Health Studies* No. 1, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., 1923.

something else. Hospitals are institutions, and must be staffed and operated by experts. The only feasible location for them is in cities or towns where controlled heat, light, water, and sewage can be had constantly. There is no reason why hospital services may not be available for all country people, however, if the correct method of establishing and supporting them prevails.

The best method by which to furnish hospital, clinic, and dispensary services to rural persons is by way of hospitals supported by tax monies. Community, township, county, or district hospitals financed by bonds, voted by the people themselves, have several advantages. The bond campaign is of great educational value. The hospital belongs to the people, and will be used to a greater extent by them. The public report of the hospital further educates the people to its value and use.

The most thoroughgoing study yet made of rural hospitals has appeared since this manuscript was prepared. Probably the most concise summary that can be presented is to quote the concluding paragraph of that study.

> The movement for the establishment of rural hospitals is on. Many methods are available. There are no legal impediments. New state laws are being enacted opening new ways. Any community may have a hospital, if it really wants it. Farmers are realizing the value of hospitals and are recognizing the handicap which the absence of hospitals and doctors places upon farming communities. Health and medical officers are increasingly taking notice of the health problem presented by the 50,000,000 people living in rural territory. Far-seeing leaders of the medical profession not only deplore the lack of doctors and hospitals in rural communities, but are actually attacking the problem. With the general establishment of rural hospitals, together with the resultant aid to the return of rural doctors, the health and social phases of equality of agriculture with other industries will be nearer accomplishment.[1]

Whole Time County Health Officers.—Better than either clinics, dispensaries, or hospitals is the presence of one or more

[1] Nason, W. C., "Rural Hospitals," *Farmers' Bulletin* No. 1485, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., March, 1926.

public health agents, whose duty it is to promote health ideas. Such officers may be school, community, or county health nurses or county doctors, who do not conduct private practice, but give all their time to public health. Thirty states have one or more such officials.[1] In Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Ohio, the county health officer, or the district health commissioner, covers a large portion of the rural areas of these states. These officials conduct school clinics and dispensaries, promote hospitalization, and are constant agents of health education, as well as health police. When the rural community comes to see itself as an entity, and to see health as a part of its community standard of living, such practices, facilities, and agencies will become universal.

SELECTED COLLATERAL SOURCE MATERIALS

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Wood, T. D., *Health Essentials for Rural School Children.*
Nason, W. C., *Rural Hospitals,* United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1926.

[1] "Whole Time County Health Officers," *Reprint* No. 837, from the *Public Health Report,* 1923, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL RECREATION

THE RÔLE OF RECREATION IN LIFE

The Difference between Amusement, Play, and Recreation. —One of the important discoveries of this generation is the value and importance of play in life. We have discovered that the desire to play is not confined to children, that its values are not confined to childhood, and that any individual or community that would insure himself or itself an abundant or even a normal life must provide for the natural and constructive play. We have passed the day, in our understanding of individual emotions and social structure, when we think of play as mere amusement, or of recreation as consisting solely of either play or amusement.

Amusement is anything that pleases. It is always one element in play, but it may be ludicrousness or lust or dissipation. A person falling, because of having slipped on a banana peel, may, for the second, be amusing, but such an incident does not constitute play or recreation for either the actor or the observer. One might go through life highly amused, and yet never have experienced anything more of play than the emotional exhilaration which comes with having the stage turned upside-down a thousand times. Play is fun, but not necessarily funny. It may be, in fact, very serious.

Play is something that pleases, plus an end or a goal to be attained. If it is a game, the goal is consciously set. If it is not a game, the goal is there just the same in the tonic to life, the joy of experience, and the development of personality. Play is a part of life. It is as universal as life itself. It is so characteristic of men and lower animals, that it is regarded by many as instinctive. It is as universal as human action. All action, however, is not play. Action that is restrained or

disciplined by ends other than the development of the personality of the one who acts must be described as work. That which is sufficiently dynamic as to constitute freedom of action and development is play, and such freedom is an absolute essential to the development of personality. As Joseph Lee, President of the Playground and Recreation Association of America says, "it is nature's course of study." Or as Herbert S. Jennings, Professor of Biology in Johns Hopkins University, in discussing the possible detriment of forcing certain activities upon children before their powers are developed to handle these activities, says: "There is one method of the exercise of the powers that is almost free from these dangers, and that is what we call play."

Recreation uses both the joy of amusement and the constructive development of play, but goes beyond both in that it consciously re-creates what has been torn down, or consciously creates or constructs something new in life. The first essential in recreation is relaxation, or freedom from that which tears down—from work, worry, or monotony. The second essential is that it actually be carried forward by some activity. The impulse to this going forward is furnished by the zest that comes with amusement and play. The third essential is, that it reconstruct, re-create, or construct and create the desirable ends which it purposes. Relaxation or release from monotony or routine, zest, and creation are then the essentials of real recreation.

In discussing whether rural folk need recreation, we need only ask whether they ever need release from monotony; whether they need the jest which comes with play; and whether they need woven into their lives the creative process which comes as a product of freedom and zest. Certainly, if these are demonstrated as worth-while factors in life generally, they are the birthright of the boys and girls, and men and women, of the open country.

The Physical, Mental, Social, and Moral Aspects of Play.—Play is not only nature's preventive medicine, but is a part of nature's method of developing a normal adult. A child, if given adequate play environment and play opportunity, will

develop its muscles and nerves and its neuro-muscular coordinations as rapidly as growth makes them available for development. No work task on earth can furnish this opportunity and environment, for work is not planned to develop the individual who participates in it, but rather is planned for ends that lie outside the immediate life of the individual. The notion that rural children are being offered these opportunities through their daily labors of doing chores is a sad misconception. The idea, that they will obtain the full benefits of play, because they are permitted to be in the open air and are given freedom for exercise, fails to take cognizance of the fact that normal growth and development demand nurture and cultivation of balanced activities, as well as a balanced food diet. What is true of the growth and development of the child is just as true of the daily routine of the adult man and woman on the farm. Farm work, varied as it is, does not furnish a sufficiently diversified set of activities to guarantee a balanced and healthful functioning of the muscles, nerves, and vital organs of the body.

The physical values of play are quite well known now, although there is much yet to discover in this field. It is known that: (1) Play is a tonic, in that it arouses the emotions and thus reacts on the nerves, muscles, and vital organs of the body. (2) It develops the body symmetrically, because all parts of the body are being used properly and in balance, whereas much work specializes only a few muscles. (3) It quickens the senses, seeing, hearing, etc., and this quickened use of the senses becomes a part of one's habits all through life. (4) It develops coordinations, rhythm, and grace, as contrasted with the awkwardness and clumsiness so often characteristic of the rural person.

The mental values of play are even more pronounced than the physical values, and probably more needed by country folk. It is not that country folk are less capable mentally, that their work is less stimulating than that of the city, or that they do not have opportunity to use so-called mental activity. As a matter of fact, all of these possibilities are greater in the work life of country people than among the

manual laborers in city occupations. It is, rather, that the additional opportunities which come with stimuli from outside the work routine are far greater in the city than in the country. For this reason, country folk, especially country children during the period of growth and development, should have the opportunity to inculcate into their personalities those habits which are induced and established by means of play.

The mental values arising out of play are: (1) the development of alertness, initiative, and quick decision; (2) the development of enthusiasm, joy, and optimism; (3) the development of precision, courage, and skill, and thus a trust in one's own capacity. All of these are values, which, if built into a child, will take him far in life, and many of them are not furnished by any other activity of childhood except through play.

The social values of play rank above all its physical and mental values. These the rural person needs above all others, for it is in social experience that the country is lacking. Play is almost universally a social project, though, of course, not solely so. Group action is more possible and more necessary among rural people today than ever before. Anything, therefore, which develops with the technique of cooperative, community, or group action is bound to have deep values in rural life. The social values of play are: (1) it develops community interest; (2) it develops cooperative technique, through team play, and in organizing and promoting play; (3) it develops leadership; (4) it develops community loyalty back of community teams; (5) it develops capacity to associate, through bringing people in enlivened contact with each other and in groups.

The moral values of play are sufficiently well recognized today, that churches and other religious agencies include play in their regular regimen of activities. They no longer do it, as was once the case, merely to attract and attach people to their religious activities and programs. They do it, because they recognize that the best way to teach ethics and morality is to inculcate them into the habits and attitudes of people. They cannot do it by directing the work of people, for the work

hours are beyond their control, and they cannot do it merely by precept and preaching. They therefore do it by directing their play activities. The moral values of play are: (1) it develops self-control, self-confidence, presence of mind, determination, and courage, all of which are the very fibers of personal morals; (2) it develops recognition of the rights of others, altruism, fairness, and even self-sacrifice, all of which are the heart of social ethics; (3) it develops enthusiasm, aspiration, zest, and joy, which are no small part of religion itself.

THE NEED OF PLAY AND RECREATION IN RURAL LIFE

To Guarantee Physical Development and Fitness.—The conviction, on the part of many rural parents, that play is nothing more than a substitute for exercise and work has robbed hundreds of thousands of rural children of the experiences and values discussed in the preceding section of this chapter. "All work and no play" not only "makes Jack a dull boy," but robs him of the opportunity to develop into complete physical manhood. It was discovered in the army camps, not only that farm-reared young men were slower to respond to the stimuli of play, but that they reached the stage of fatigue more quickly than city-reared young men in those forms of activity requiring the use of the whole body. In recent years, the husky farm boy no longer excels the play-trained city boy in college athletics. Farm boys and girls do not develop either symmetrical bodies or well-coordinated muscles and nerves. Farm work develops the heavy or major muscles to the neglect of the finer muscles. It is out of the asymmetry of bodily function that ill health develops.

In the days of the pioneer, when the farmer was half hunter and half farmer, his senses were quickened by his experiences in the woods and along the streams. Now that farm life has become more sedentary, more mechanical, and more a matter of repeated operations, the senses of the farmer are not

trained as they used to be. In city life, one's occupation may be far more mechanical, routine, and stable than on the farm. But once outside the factory door, all these senses must be alive to the teeming, changing, stimulating environment, both physical and social, of city life. Leisure hours in the city are filled far more with challenging stimuli to thought and action than are work hours. The opposite is the case in rural life. In city life, leisure time is organized to offer the very corrections necessary to balance up the routine physical activities of the work hours. In country life, the same thing should be done. The method of doing it is through organized recreation.

To Develop Mental Growth.—The city child is almost universally more precocious than the rural child. This may be good, or it may be bad. The fact that it may be good is sufficient to warrant its consideration. The lack of diversified association and diversified stimulation make the country child often seem stupid. He may have developed health, vigor, and abundance of energy, but it is in the opportunities and means of release of energy that thinking consists. His means of release are not sufficient in childhood, and become quickly habituated in adult life. Modern psychological studies indicate that there is nothing in child life so fraught with danger for blighting normal living as the repression of natural emotions. Surely there is no greater abnormality in life than the person who never learned to play. Running with a dog, riding a stick horse, climbing a tree, or wandering over the fields are all fine, but to have no opportunities for stimulation other than this type of thing soon leaves the rural child short on human experience, and thus short on stimuli to thinking.

The emotions are a part of the thinking process. They furnish chiefly the motive or zest to think. Play stimulates and enlivens the emotions, introduces spontaneity and pleasurable experiences into life, sets the mind to all kinds of aspirational imaginations, and thus creates experiences in and of itself. These things the rural child needs, in order that he may capitalize into thinking the potential energies that sunshine, open air, and freedom have developed in his nerve

cells. Rural people are too often either emotionally stolid and stagnant, or emotionally morose and even sordid. This may be preferable to being an emotional jellyfish, as is the case with some city people, but it is not thereby either necessary or desirable. The introduction of diversified and directed play would rectify these shortcomings.

City-reared young men in the army camps excelled country-reared young men in activities which demanded mental alertness. The country boy often excels in college studies, not because of his quickness in thinking, but because of his doggedness in work. The adult farmer is suspicious of the other man, often only because he does not trust his own capacity to cope with an outsider in alertness of thinking. Play and games develop these very attitudes which he lacks—alertness, initiative, precision, and trust in one's self. It would add to the experience of the rural person those very things of which his isolation and independence of life have robbed him.

To Develop Social, Cooperative, or Group Technique.—People have always been drawn into groups, because of their desire for those emotional satisfactions which come only from associations with other persons. Personality is chiefly built out of social contacts, and rural people have always been short on social contacts. This is the reason why they find it difficult to cooperate in economic enterprise; why their imagination is feeble; why their judgments are often narrow; and why bitter hostilities so often develop in rural communities. Play, especially group play and team play, is the best antidote to these shortcomings. Agriculture is a family industry, and will probably always have to be carried on in relative isolation. Farm work, for the most part, must be carried on by means of no larger group than the single family. It is, therefore, only in the marketing function, the institutional life outside the family, and during leisure time that the broader and more cosmopolitan experiences can be had. Community play and recreation offers one of these opportunities.

Furthermore, play draws people together, in that it sets up common ends to be gained. Differences of temperament

and opinion are lost in a common consciousness and common techniques of accomplishment. This is not only valuable in itself, but carries over into other activities of life. Dr. Warren H. Wilson quotes Reverend C. O. Gill, at one time captain of the Yale football team, and one who has had long experience working among rural people, as saying:

The reason why farmers cannot cooperate is in the fact that they did not play when they were boys. They never learned team work.

TABLE 55.—SUMMARY OF RECREATION CHOICES OF COUNTRY AND VILLAGE BOYS

Recreation	Country	Village
Swimming	267	325
Hunting	226	219
Baseball	267	361
Reading	190	227
Basketball	167	210
Fishing	164	193
Football	152	216
Tennis	66	122
Athletics	56	87
Dancing	45	75
Horseback riding	60	57
Camping	37	52
Hiking	29	81
Movies	25	34
Skating	24	33
Track	22	24
Music	19	37
Motoring	16	25
Bicycle riding	11	8
Traveling	9	4
Rowing	9	9
Boxing	8	16
Golf	8	9
Drawing	6	4
Singing	5	3
Parties	5	16
Wrestling	5	3
Volley ball	6	11
Billiards	4	14
Cards	4	10
Picnics	3	4
Gym work	3	5
Band	2	2
Croquet	2	4
Scouting	3	7

TABLE 56.—SUMMARY OF RECREATION CHOICES OF COUNTRY AND VILLAGE GIRLS

Recreation	Country	Village
Reading	520	651
Swimming	264	398
Basketball	194	232
Riding	192	157
Dancing	199	314
Tennis	119	244
Hiking	113	247
Auto	90	94
Baseball	85	101
Walking	74	89
Piano	61	62
Music	65	84
Movies	51	91
Volley ball	45	54
Skating	43	74
Athletics	43	27
Sewing	35	57
Camping	34	28
Out-door sports	37	15
Fishing	37	22
Auto driving	18	28
Boating	17	7
Picnicking	16	27
Theater	14	14
Game	13	14
Singing	12	13
Cooking	12	13
Sports	12	13
Writing	11	7
Croquet	11	6
Housework	10	10
Practice music	9	4
Small garden	9	1
Parties	8	21
Running	8	5
Bathing	7	4
Travel	6	21
Drawing	6	9
Fancy Work	6	12

They cannot yield to one another, or surrender themselves to a common purpose.[1]

Rural people have always played, of course. All men and animals play in one way or another. Rural sports, however,

[1] WILSON, WARREN H., *Evolution of The country Community*, p. 195.

like rural economic enterprise have been individualistic. The type of play most needed in rural districts is that which demands and teaches cooperative or team play. If adult farmers were as loyal to, and enthusiastic over, the success of their community programs, and the well-being of their community life, as school and college students are over the success of their athletic teams, there would be a great gain in many things that demand group action and group loyalty in rural community life.

A study of play choices, or preferences for various types of play, recently made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, is revealing in many ways. It shows that rural young people prefer play that demands association and team work, even more than city young people do. The choices are combinations of those things which are well known but lacking in the environment of the child, give opportunity for association with other children, and have been participated in to some extent by the children. Tables 55 and 56 give the ranking of choices. Table 57 shows the desire on the part of rural boys for team games and associated recreation.[1]

A study of play choices or preferences for various kinds of play, recently made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, reveals the fact that rural boys desire sports which demand team play even more than do city boys. The study covered the choice of 3,040 village boys, and 2,119 country boys. The following table is constructed from the data discovered by this study:

In the average American open-country community, it is the very sports which rural youths prefer, which are handicapped by lack of members, recreational facilities, and play supervision. Those types which they place fairly well down the list, *viz.*, individualized sports, are the ones which are forced upon them if they are to play at all.

We can do no better in concluding this section than to quote from Lawrence S. Hill, in a paper read before the Physical

[1] Information furnished by Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City.

TABLE 57.—PLAY CHOICES

Type of Recreation	Village	If Country Boys' Choice Yielded Those of Village Boys [1]	Actual Country Boys' Choice
Baseball	361	253	267
Football	216	151	152
Camping	52	35	37
Track	24	16	22
Volley ball	11	8	6

[1] There were almost seven-tenths as many country boys' choices as there were village boys' choices. Column three is what the country boys' choices would be, if they just represented those of the city boys.

Education Department of the National Education Association, at Pittsburgh, in 1918.

To sum up these needs we may say that the rural child requires a special type of activity. It is useless to preach morality, self-control, recognition of the rights of others, altruism, self-confidence, determination, loyalty, cooperation, courage, skill, and a host of other attributes, which the individual should acquire in school, if mere preaching is all that is attempted. It is necessary to give the individual opportunity to learn these valuable lessons for himself, and this he can do through normal directed activity better than he can in any other way. Children need activities intended to promote health and body, as well as moral discipline; activities for the health and happiness of all boys and girls at the same time as the mental and moral training. They need to realize the obligations to the society in which they live, and to have a readiness of spirit and body to meet those obligations in daily life. They need to be made conscious of the fact that it is not for themselves alone that they sing patriotic songs, perform daily drills, play games, and undergo health examinations, but for themselves as happier, healthier, more efficient members of the community in which they live.[2]

[2] Quoted from PHELAN, J., *Readings in Rural Sociology,* pp. 233-234.

THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING RECREATION INTO RURAL LIFE

Rural Attitudes That Are Adverse to Recreation.—One of the difficulties, if indeed not the chief difficulty, of establishing adequate play opportunities in the open country has been the adverse attitudes to play prevalent in the minds of many rural people. Play has been looked upon as a time filler, or even a time killer, and thus in conflict with the almost universal work attitudes that pervade rural life. It has been looked upon as immoral and carnal and, therefore, contrary to religious ideals and activities. The dire economic struggle, through which practically all rural people have passed, developed a philosophy of life which regarded remunerative work alone as righteous. This attitude carried beyond the time and energy necessary for work to a condemnation of all pleasure seeking and merry making. I remember that, as a boy of about fifteen years of age, I actually felt pained, when my parents began considering retiring from their forty years of hard, pioneer, farm labors, and I felt that there was a distinct moral weakness in my younger sister, who insisted on reading in the afternoon following a strenuous forenoon at the family washing. I remember also that my father, who was a liberal thinker on religious matters, sternly rebuked me for standing one Sunday morning at the window, looking longingly at some neighbor boys skating on the ice pond in our own hog lot. Ministers have, in the past, been almost universally opposed to all kinds of sports. They not only condemned dancing and card playing, but all forms of organized recreation, and particularly the "violation of the Sabbath,"—the only leisure day that many a farm family had at its disposal. The tradition of the whole church, until recently, has been opposed to all amusement and recreation. The country church has been slower in giving up this tradition than has the city church.

An inquiry into Rural Child Welfare made by the National Child Labor Committee, based upon conditions in West Virginia, reports that again and again they heard such statements as: "We don't believe in play." The following quotations are from their report:

One hale and hearty and fairly prosperous farmer averred, with the accent on the ego, "*I* never played when *I* was a boy." Others not so hale and hearty or prosperous or quite so self-satisfied, made the same statement. There was Abe Fowler, for instance, who said "Boys don't need no time to play. When they ain't workin' they oughtta be sleepin', I reckon." Another man said of his boys, "There's plenty of work for 'em and no time for foolishness." Another: "I've got a place for my boy to play—cutting sprouts and weeds—and wet days he c'n get wood."

Still other quotations from the same report are:

"We never give 'em no time to play."

"Our children never bother with games."

"We don't fool with any fool thing like that."

"I raised my children in the holler, and they didn't l'arn any of that nonsense."

"I don't like to see children put in time on games like dominoes. I'd as soon see 'em play cards." [1]

These may sound like extreme attitudes, and indeed they are, in some rural sections of the nation; but they are still prevalent in other areas, and can be found scattered pretty well throughout the nation. They were at one time almost universal in rural districts.

The "work attitude," which makes all play negative and wasteful activity, and the "puritan attitude," which makes all pleasure sin, have slowed up the play movement in the country more than any other thing. Their lingering presence still keeps many rural communities negative, or at best passive, on the problem of introducing organized recreation into rural life.

The Lack of Sufficient Persons to Make Organized Play Feasible.—The writer has, at least twenty times, asked for a show of hands, in different rural sociology classes, of all country-reared boys who never played organized baseball, football, or basketball. In practically every case, a goodly majority testified that they never had. The explanations were always two: "We did not have enough boys at school to play these games;" and "We had no grounds and equipment."

[1] Clopper, E. N., *Rural Child Welfare,* pp. 147 and 149, Macmillan Co., 1922.

Before the advent of the automobile and the consolidated school, it was almost impossible to find a group of rural boys near enough the same age, who met together consistently enough to make playing one of these organized forms of sport possible. Furthermore, with the one-room school and its small play space, seldom more than an acre for building and all, and the ground often uneven, there was no place to play one of these games. I have seen dozens of rural schools built in the timber, with less than fifty square feet of cleared play space, or on a steep hillside, where it was dangerous even to play tag. No one thought of providing play space when the school ground was laid out, though the land was then cheap or even free. Now land is expensive, taxes are high, and play equipment expensive. The result is, that practically none of the rural children, except those provided with a modern consolidated school, have the opportunities of organized and directed play.

The same lack of population, which has robbed children of the country of opportunities for organized play, has also robbed adults of many worth-while forms of recreation. Even picnics and social gatherings were difficult to arrange and make succeed, before the coming of the automobile and the telephone. Such gatherings were confined almost wholly to the national holidays. The telephone has made it easier to plan such occasions, and the automobile has made it easier to assemble for such gatherings. Even now, the lack of play or recreation spaces, and the inertia of long generations of playless life make the inauguration of play programs in rural districts difficult.

In a survey of 1,014 farm families in North Carolina, it was found that no member, of 18 per cent of all families surveyed, had attended a community recreational event during the preceding twelve months; and that only 17.1 per cent of all families surveyed had attended as many as four recreational events during that time. In a survey of 426 farm families in Southeast Missouri, the facts were found to be about the same. These areas are not typical of many others in the nation, but they are typical of thousands of rural communities, and serve

to show that the handicaps and inertia of a few generations ago are by no means absent from large sections of rural society today. In many of the mountain regions and less sparsely settled sections of the nation, these effects are more pronounced than for the areas we have used as examples.

A fact that is worth noting on the other side of the equation of few available people for recreational events in rural districts, is that among the groups who do meet together, there is a personal or neighborly relationship which is totally absent in the great commercial and impersonal recreational events of many cities.

THE EVOLUTION OF PLAY IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

The Play of Our Pioneers and Early Settlers.—Play in rural life, in the sense of forms of activity, attitudes toward play, and the growth of play facilities, has developed concomitantly with other activities of rural life. It has been retarded, because the attitudes and difficulties which we have discussed, have prevailed longer than they have in city life. But there is a vast difference between the play of our pioneer grandfathers and that of the present day. The transition from pioneer, self-sufficient farming to commercial farming introduced into rural life monetary and material attitudes and standards, which for the past few generations have robbed rural society of many of the values which it once possessed, without substituting equally valuable recreative values. This sag in rural spiritual life, however, was not nearly so pronounced as were the results of the coming of the factory system in city life. It will pass, as it is passing in city life, with the spread of the play movement.

Play among the pioneers grew out of the necessity for group work. There were certain tasks which the members of a single family could not perform alone. The neighbors gathered to assist, and the occasion, in addition to furnishing pleasurable association in work, was turned into a play time before it ended. Whole families were taken to the "barn raisings" and "log rollings," because these occasions furnished food for their

social hunger, and because it was not desirable or even safe to leave the mother and children at home alone.

The "barn raising" was concluded with the "barn dance." The "log rolling" or "wood chopping" was turned into a barbecue, and the "corn husking" was turned into a "bee." Other occasions of this kind were the "sugar making," "quiltings and rag sewings," "round-ups," and the like. In these occasions, all members of the family participated, sometimes all playing the same game, sometimes each age group playing the same game, sometimes each aged group playing to itself.

Similar to those recreational occasions were the harvest and shelling gangs, which furnished arduous labor, but also afforded opportunities for associations and visitations. Often at the conclusion of the harvest season "harvest festivals" were held, sometimes as religious ceremonials, but often as pure "jollifications." A big basket dinner at the home of some sick neighbor, who was unable to complete his harvest, furnished an occasion for a helpful and happy social gathering. These were occasions, the passing of which rural people can sincerely regret, for they were pregnant with fine fellowship, merriment and whole-hearted neighborliness.

The isolation of the pioneer developed a form of recreation and limited associations which had distinctive features not found elsewhere in modern society. Such were the "sleigh rides," the "hay-rack rides," "horse-back riding," and individual family visiting. These are now cherished more by city people than by country people.

With the coming of institutional life, the appearances of the school and church, there developed the "box supper," the "oyster supper," the old-fashioned "singing school," the "spelling match," the "literary society," and the "school exhibition." Camp meetings, revival meetings, and even monthly preaching furnished social gatherings, which the pioneers counted among the fête periods. These forms of recreation are by no means absent from many rural districts today. "Fiddling contests," the "rodeo or riding contests" of the west, "ski tourneys" of the north, "turkey shootings," and similar events, have been prevalent in practically every rural com-

munity of America. They all show the tendency of people everywhere to play, and play in terms of environments.

The characteristic features of these pioneer recreation events were, that they mobilized practically the whole community, and, wherever the idea of contest entered, it was cast on a purely individual basis. Every community had its "crack shot," its champion "wrastler," its "champion wood chopper," its "best rider," or its "best break-down fiddler." Even the pioneer preacher was adjudged great according to his capacity to "out-bellow" his denominational rivals, and every community had its "bully" or best man. Such celebrations as they did have, were planned months in advance, and thus furnished great pleasure in anticipation, as well as brightened the value of the event when it transpired. These people's lives were lived in isolation and, to a degree, were somewhat melancholy. Their recreational events were, therefore, tests of individual prowess, or given over to rollicking abandon. In one case, joy of conquest was furnished, and in the other, the joy of realization and release from comparative solitude was enjoyed.

Characteristics of Present Rural Play and Recreation.—It is difficult to classify the periods of development in rural play, for two reasons. *First,* because there have been no outstanding events, which have occasioned drastic change in forms and habits of recreation. *Second,* because rural communities vary all the way from those yet following the forms of recreation just described, to those that have provided themselves with the most modern play equipment and play programs. Definite things, however, have transpired in rural life to change the forms of rural play and the attitudes toward play. In the first place, all means of transportation and communication, discussed in Chap. VII, have served to bring rural people in contact with what is transpiring in city life. The organized forms of recreation, which have been developing in city life for two generations, are now fairly well known to most rural communities. The introduction of farm machinery has made available a very much greater amount of leisure time. Thousands of schools have been consolidated, thus throwing

larger groups of children together. These associations of children, and the fact that the consolidated school furnishes something like an adequate auditorium and playground, have stimulated community gatherings and community play and entertainment programs. The automobile has come in to absorb the pleasure-seeking time of many rural people. The machine processes of farming have done much to kill the feats of prowess, based upon dexterity and fineness of workmanship, which constituted materials for many old forms of rural contest. Rural people are reading more than they formerly did, because they are better educated, and because the daily paper is made available by means of the Rural Free Delivery. All these things have served to lessen the isolation—physical and social—of rural people, have served to draw them into association with one another, and to provide them with at least some equipment for play.

The results of these changes in the rural situation itself, and the consequent changes in the attitudes of most rural people toward play, have been in two directions. They have served to introduce a certain amount of organized recreation and team games into rural play, but they have served also to eliminate, in many places, the old forms of play, without substituting in their places anything more than sedentary, commercialized recreation. Rural boys may, at one time, have known how to participate in only those sports which pitted one individual against another, but many of them today are not playing at all. Many country girls may, at one time in their pleasures, have been boisterous, and what would today be considered uncultured, but even that was better than being nothing more than "movie fans" or "joy riders." Rural people, or city people either, for that matter, are not to be too severely criticized for availing themselves of commercial forms of recreation. Shrewd business men sensed the universal demand for recreation before the public was willing to acknowledge the need, and people are willing to pay well for the advantages of play which these business men have furnished. Certainly not all play can be non-commercial. The Chautauqua is one of the modern great events in rural life, and it must, to a degree,

be commercialized. The same is true of other types of recreation. It is not the fact that play costs money that is at fault, but that it is not always wholesome or recreative. Many rural communities are between the pioneer days of individual sports, and the community parties and bees of one kind or another, and the day when definitely organized recreation will be provided by the community for all. This fact constitutes one of the greatest needs for hastening the spread of the modern play movement into the rural areas.

An Adequate and Wholesome Recreational Program for Rural Communities.—Now that we have before us the physical, mental, and social values of play, the shortcomings of rural life which demand play, and the status of the play life of rural people, let us consider what the next step in providing wholesome and adequate recreation for rural people should be. Professor E. C. Lindeman presented the following forms of recreation as desirable for rural people, in a paper read before the American Country Life Association in Chicago, 1919.

1. To develop the balance or symmetry so often lacking, because of habitual work activities of rural people:

   (*a*) Games which involve the free use of the entire body.
   (*b*) Games which require procession of action.
   (*c*) Games employing the expression of the rhythmic instinct.

2. For psycho-physiological development:

   (*a*) Games which involve cooperative action.
   (*b*) Games which involve attention or the use of the higher nerve centers.
   (*c*) Games which are mentally exhilarating.

He then suggests that these would require such forms of recreation as group games, organized athletics, folk dancing, and community singing. In this same paper are listed the requirements for good games for the open country, as those that are: (1) safe to health, (2) in which small, as well as large, numbers may participate, (3) which may be played by both young and old, (4) which may be played by both sexes,

(5) which require a minimum of equipment, (6) which emphasize the instinct of cooperation, and (7) games and forms of play that grow out of the life of the people in conjunction with the community environment.[1] These generalizations furnish the groundwork of principles and some concrete suggestions for developing a recreation program in a rural community. In addition to these, we may emphasize the fact that, there are numerous opportunities to develop play and recreation in rural districts without providing an elaborate all-year program or expensive playgrounds or equipment. Once the physical, mental, social, and moral values of play are recognized by rural people, play will be developed in the home, at the school, at the church, in the open spaces of the country, and in conjunction with the towns. Dramatics and pageantry will be developed. Picnics, celebrations, vacation trips, and county field days will be used as means of constructively utilizing leisure time. Music and art will be stimulated. Community building, country parks, and other play places will begin to appear. All of these things are being done at one or many places in the open country now. The open country is rich with possibility of play. Hunting, fishing, swimming, riding, nature study, and many other natural sports are there to be utilized. Folk dances and songs developed in rural districts, and can easily be brought back into vogue. Leisure time has increased. The social institutions have grown more prevalent and more modern. The city is near at hand. What rural people need is education in play and play values. The small equipment necessary will follow, and expert play leaders will guide them in a kind of play that is healthful, wholesome, and pleasurable.

Examples of Rural Recreation

Play Connected with the Schools.—The most universal rural play program is developing in connection with the schools. This will probably be true for some time to come. Play is

[1] *Proceedings,* Second National Country Life Conference, pp. 118-136, University of Chicago Press, 1919

prejudiced in favor of childhood in most people's minds. Children of the same ages are now assembled in large numbers at the centralized and consolidated schools. The close relation between play and educational technique, especially in dealing with children, is being more widely recognized. Play space, and equipment are most easily provided at the school, which is public property and under paid supervision. New York State has provided that any district or combination of districts may employ a supervisor of physical training, and the state will contribute one-half the salary up to $600 per year. A number of states, notable among which are Texas, North Carolina, and Maryland, have state interscholastic athletic leagues. In Texas, these leagues reach down into the smallest and most isolated communities of the state, and include children of all ages. This work is under the direction of the Extension Division of the University of Texas, and is carried out through the schools. In twenty-five different states, definite legislation has been passed making possible the use of school facilities for social and recreational purposes. In addition to these twenty-five states, there are four others that are accomplishing outstanding recreational things through the schools; among those which are working without special legislation is Texas, whose project we have just mentioned. A few years back, the North Carolina state department of education inaugurated a supervised play system by providing a number of traveling play supervisors. Trucks were equipped with a complete moving-picture outfit. With each truck went a boy, to drive the truck and operate the moving-picture machine, and a young woman to direct the play of the children. Each truck made a regular circuit of five schools each week. The children of the school and the community were directed in their play in the afternoon, and the whole community was entertained at night, by means of the moving pictures and often some additional features.

Hundreds of examples could be cited, where play equipment and facilities are being provided and supervised play furnished through the schools. The United States Bureau of Education is now publishing and distributing bulletins setting forth all

the information necessary to inform rural school people of the means and methods of providing school recreation, and even recreation for those not in attendance at school. These bulletins propose the use of the school equipment for Saturday and holiday use, the enlargement of the school space for play, the introduction of standards of sport efficiency, the introduction of play into the curriculum, and in addition to this they give elaborate information on proper games to play, and the equipment necessary to provide for these games.[1] There is very little doubt that another decade will have developed play as a universal part of the school program, and, through the school, to have extended it to a considerable extent to the whole rural population.

Play Connected with Churches.—Churches are rapidly changing their attitudes toward play. For a generation, they have been making use of suppers and sociables to raise money and attract persons to their religious programs. Many of them have made the transition to the conviction that there are spiritual, ethical, and moral values in play itself, and are making it a part of the church's regular program in the community. The church is not as apt a place to promote play and recreational events as the school, because it does not have the personnel staff or the play space, and because it is usually denominational and does not reach the whole community.

H. P. Douglas, in his book *The Little Town,* tells of a church in Montana, with a community parish house open to all residents of the town and managed by a board of representative directors. It has a reading room, a game room, rest, and comfort rooms for country people, a gymnasium and baths available for men, women, and children. Athletics and clubs of all kinds are promoted.[2] E. de S. Brunner, in his book *The New Country Church Building,* presents a plan to meet the social needs of a small community, where the people are few and means limited. This plan suggests the equipping of the parsonage rooms for social uses. Other plans are pre-

[1] United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin* No. 40, 1913, and *Bulletin* No. 45, 1921, are examples of this service.

[2] Douglas, H. P., *The Little Town,* The Macmillan Company, 1919.

sented for more elaborate programs. Examples of rural ministers and rural churches, that have developed definite recreational programs, have for the last few years been presented in church papers, agricultural journals, and national periodicals, in abundance. Ministers' conferences and short courses quite universally today make recreation a part of their program, and often conduct courses in play and recreation. Overhead church organizations are now rendering the service of furnishing church plans which provide recreational and social rooms. The movement while not by any means universal among the churches, is making its contribution to the rural play movement. Not least among its contributions is its changed attitude toward play and pleasure.

Community Field Days.—Community field days are universally promoted by the Y. M. C. A., the American Playground and Recreation Association, and boys' and girls' club leaders. The outstanding example presented here is of "America" in New York. America Field Day was inaugurated in 1910, as an experiment in rural cooperative recreation. One day each year, this community invites the whole countryside to a free day of wholesome recreation. All objectionable features of a typical carnival sort are eliminated. The principles upon which this community works are: (1) make the country as attractive socially as the city ;(2) boys and girls of the country have forgotten how to play; (3) don't watch others play games, play yourself; (4) get boys interested in honest and healthy sports, and save them from drink and dissipation; (5) learn the great lesson that play is just as necessary for your sons as work; (6) the community's festivals should be not only *for* the people, but *of* and *by* the people. This project is now incorporated as "The America Field Day Association." It is conducted by a board of thirty directors composed of both men and women. Membership is open to all residents of the surrounding community. The dues are $1 per year. Cooperating in the project are the Y. M. C. A., the County Farm Bureau, the Grange, Boy Scouts, ministers, and school teachers. Games, both group and competitive, are played. A parade of floats is developed. "Drinks" and "eats" are sold

on the grounds. Dozens of basket dinner picnics are held. The event attracted 3,000 people in 1910, and over 10,000 people in 1913.[1] Granges, Farmers' Unions, and Farm Bureaus are promoting such occasions regularly now. Such projects will have created demands for play places and parks, with the result that states and counties will soon provide these places.

Agencies for the Promotion of Rural Recreation

The Rural Social Institutions as Recreation Agencies.— Some slight discussion has been given of the various rural social institutions which do, or can, promote recreation in rural life. The idea here is merely to summarize the agencies which are participating in the promotion of the play movement in the open country. From this summary, it will be evident that the movement is well under way, and is destined, through its future development, to contribute much of joy and pleasure to rural life that is now lacking because of its absence.

The home is a social entity in the country far more than it is in the city, where it has the hundreds of other agencies competing for the time and attention of its members. The development of home games, music, reading, vacations, and camping trips has great opportunities for developing constructive leisure-time programs. Dr. L. H. Bailey, of Cornell University, contends that every farm should have a piece of land containing at least one-half an acre, near the house, as a playground for the children. Here croquet, tennis, volley ball, and similar games could be played, and the sand box so universal at the city home, but so universally absent at the country home, could be located. Flowers, bird boxes, etc., could be a part of the equipment. For rainy days, a play room in the house or barn could be provided. The problems of the rural home in the field of play are: (*a*) the gaining of more leisure time; (*b*) the development of an appreciation, on the part of the parents, of the values of play in developing the character habits and personality of their children; (*c*) supply-

[1] Adapted from Burr, W., *Rural Organization,* pp. 204, 208, The Macmillan Company, 1921.

ing of good reading; (*d*) the necessity for relieving the monotony and restricted contacts of isolated farm home life; and (*e*) the equipment of the home and yard with play and game equipments.

The church, we have already noted, is rapidly changing its attitude toward play, and to some degree beginning to participate in the play movement. Its chief contributions can be: (*a*) in preaching the spiritual, moral, and ethical values of play; (*b*) in procuring a place and equipment for social gathering of all the community; (*c*) and, where adequate play is not furnished to the community through other channels, to direct the play itself.

The school has been discussed at some length as a director of play in this and previous chapters. Its contributions lie in the following opportunities: (*a*) it is a dominant control of the time and life of children in their chief play ages; (*b*) it is a central place of meeting owned by all the people and supported by their tax monies; (*c*) it has, or can have, the space, equipment, and supervisory force for offering constructive recreation; (*d*) play is coming to be recognized as a part of education; (*e*) the school, by expanding the use of its space and equipment, can be the central recreational place for the whole community.

The government, by means of any or all of its units, can furnish parks and playgrounds, community houses, libraries, and community or school physical directors. It will, in the future, as the play movement grows, play a much greater rôle in the development and promotion of recreation than it does at the present.

Farmers' Organizations, Clubs, and Societies.—The Grange, The Farmers' Union, The Equity, The Farm Bureau, and dozens of less well-known farmers' organizations are furnishing recreation to country people. Boys' and girls' club work, as a part of the agricultural college's extension program, through their camps, field days, and picnics, is coming to furnish considerable opportunities of play and recreation.

National Agencies Promoting Play in Rural Districts.—The Boy Scouts of America, The Campfire Girls, The County

Work Department of the Young Men's Christian Association, The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, The Junior Department of the American Red Cross, and, to some extent, the Bureau of Public Health Service, and the National Child Labor Committee are all promoting play and recreation programs in one way or another in rural districts. Above all others, Community Service Incorporated, or the Playground and Recreation Association of America, is doing much in this field. These agencies are all well established, and have been functioning for a number of years. We list them to show how universal has become the interest in rural recreation, and how much the future holds in store for the rapid development of this aspect of country life.

CONCLUSIONS

The stern and arduous work life that farm people have been compelled to live has developed in them a philosophy of life which has condemned all pleasure seeking. Farm labor does not develop the body symmetrically; it develops neither alertness of thinking nor cooperative actions. All of these are developed by play and games. Rural people need recreation, because they need relaxation or release from the monotony and routine of farm tasks. They need a program of constructive use for their leisure time. And they need the social contacts and community spirit that are engendered by social and recreational events. Play should no longer be looked upon as a time killer or even a time filler, but as a means of personality, community, and citizenship building. The recreation programs of the rural areas should utilize the materials at hand, but should not hesitate to cooperate with the village or town in supplying an adequate play program. Play should be provided for all, and all should learn to play. There are sufficient agencies and institutions at hand to make recreation available to every rural community of America, once the values of play are recognized and appreciated. It is as much a part of the development of children as is education, and as legitimate an activity as work. Its two great purposes are the development of indi-

vidual personality and community life. These are worthy ends for all life and, therefore, for rural life.

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CHAPTER XVII

RURAL ART

THE PLACE AND NEED OF ART IN RURAL LIFE

The Rôle of Art in Rural Life.—Gutzon Borglum was once asked for his own explanation of his cosmopolitan interests and intellect, why and how he came to be interested in politics, economics, history, sociology, and all those other topics which are of such dynamic concern to the every-day world. His reply was:

"Why, man, such things are the very essence of art, for all art ever tries to do is to reach down into the lives of peoples and civilizations and lift their souls up where they can see them."

Because so many persons do not have a profound appreciation of art, this whole field of human experience has come to be looked upon as something apart from work-a-day life. The artists, or maybe only near artists, have helped to encourage this misconception by flaunting their own eccentricities and raving over masterpieces and the masters that are unknown and so unappreciated by the masses. The rôle of art lies not in the unique, for the unique can just as well be incongruous and ugly as orderly and beautiful. Art consists in lifting the realities of life out of the commonplace, into which they so easily drift, and giving them dominance over the unrealities, mistakes and ugliness of our existence. As Borglum says, everyone is an artist to some degree, for we all love symmetry, beauty, harmony, and grandeur and we all love to create things. Small and Vincent list beauty as one of the six universal interests of life, ranking a desire for it with the other five: health, wealth, knowledge, rightness, and sociability.[1]

[1] SMALL, A. W. and VINCENT, G. E., *An Introduction to The Study of Society,* pp. 175-177, American Book Company, New York, 1894.

Primitive people of all lands have their objects of beauty and grandeur. The great and grand places and things have been objects of veneration and worship among all people, forests, mountains, rivers, the sun and moon, and above all the starry heavens. People born and reared in the presence of the ocean, the mountains, or the broad prairies, without knowing it, inculcate a love of these grand things into their lives. They become cognizant of this fact only when robbed of association with these objects.

Human life is so dynamic and human relationships so multifarious and complex that the greatest tasks of all society consist in attempting to establish and maintain order, symmetry, and harmony in them. These human affairs drive and urge us and invite our attention and activity so constantly that we forget to see and know that outside of human affairs in the universe and nature are almost universal order, symmetry, and harmony. It is because of this fact, if no other, that art has its place in life.

Beauty is more natural to the country than to the city, and more prevalent in the country than in the city. Cities know this and so try to introduce a part of the country into city life by developing great city parks, sometimes thousands of acres in extent. What country people need most to do is to conserve the art that is naturally resident in the country, develop eyes to see and souls to appreciate it, and to recognize that they have always loved it and been a part of it. Lorado Taft once asked James Whitcomb Riley how he accounted for the fact that most poets and artists come from the country. The answer was: "The country boy has to amuse himself and he lets his imagination play, and out of that comes artistry." The imagination of these boys, however, has played upon the resident or existent facts of beauty in their every-day life and the every-day life of all those around them who had no imaginations or time to let them play.

The Need of Art in Rural Life.—Professor Frank A. Waugh of Massachusetts State College of Agriculture says:

> Art is, of course, universal, and its principles are the same in the

country as in the city. All we can mean, therefore, by rural art is the application of art principles to rural problems. When we reach this ground, no one can doubt that art is able to render a service to the country as much as to the city. Its purpose is to bring order and beauty in place of disorder and ugliness.[1]

The need of art, then, according to Professor Waugh, is to bring order and beauty into rural life. The open country already has great natural advantages over the city in these two respects. For in the country Nature's reign is far more dominant than in the city. Hills, forests, streams, flowers, birds, natural landscapes are there. Life and creation are all about, and the farmer is participating in creating and nurturing them. Not only are these objects of beauty there, but the spirit of art is in the life of the rural person who loves them and feels friendly toward them. No small part of making rural life satisfactory consists in magnifying these facts and these values in contrast to the attractions of the city.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCENIC ART IN RURAL LIFE

The Objects with Which to Work.—Rural art should start with the *conservation and preservation of the natural beauties of nature.* Landscapes have been objects of art through all time. Everyone loves a landscape. The fact that the farmer works with it in tilling the soil and is a part of it, often keeps him from seeing it. The preservation of rural landscapes demands the preservation of forests, streams, native shrubs, and flowers. It demands the elimination of unsightly billboards, ugly dumping grounds, and similar desecrations of the countryside. It must go further and promote the development of road planting, rural parks, and even proper home and farmstead location. Some of these things will demand definite organization for planning and improvement. In this, however, rural communities will but be following the lead of cities in exercising social control over the development of these things.

[1] Quoted from PHELAN, J., *Readings in Rural Sociology,* pp. 248-249, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.

Community, township, or even county, improvement associations can be organized to accomplish these ends.

Public and Semi-public Buildings and Grounds.—These things have come to be chief objects for civic beautification in cities. The rural districts have fewer of these objects than cities have, but they do universally have school buildings and grounds, churches, cemeteries, and often community buildings such as Grange halls, Farm Union halls, or general community club buildings. These all furnish opportunities for developing the finest type of typical rural architecture. It is peculiar how this opportunity has been grasped by mountain summer resorts, but never by resident rural communities. Rural life is distinct, and so rural architecture should be distinct. The public building of a rural area is not fitted into a scheme of other buildings and a complex system of streets, but usually into a scheme of a single road and the broad landscape. There is no reason why every rural school and churchyard should not be a small, semi-public park. Artistic planting, flower beds, statues, and fountains can be provided without spoiling the play spaces at the school or in any way marring the usefulness of the churchyard. Rural cemeteries are about the only opportunity and only occasion for formal planting which the country has. They are usually either eyesores or beauty spots. The order, organization, and care of these places and buildings await almost universally the application of art principles. When this is done they will become stimuli to all to whom they belong or who live in their presence.

Rural Homes and Farm Buildings.—These ought to be and are the easiest objects with which to start the development of rural beauty. It would be a great mistake, however, to assume that they are universally objects of beauty. Their drab, unpainted, poorly located, often neglected appearance is what makes the worst impression on the passer-by. The landscape, growing crops, and pasturing herds may impress the city dweller as picturesque but the homes in which rural people live are depressing and forbidding.

Professor Waugh says, "The building of a new farm home is one of the most important episodes in life. It should be

given long, careful, and prayerful study." [1] It should be built in keeping with its surroundings, well located in reference to other buildings of the farmstead, tastefully painted and well planted with shrubs, flowers, and lawn. The lawn can be made a sort of individual park. Shade trees, climbing vines, beautiful flowers and a pretty fence (a necessity on the farm in many cases because of poultry and livestock) can all be utilized for beautifying the farm home. George Washington was a farmer and his farm home at Mount Vernon could well be an example to every farmer of the nation in home beauty. Literally hundreds of thousands of farm houses are not even painted and show no attempt at good planting or other means of beautification.

Even where some attempt is made at beautifying the farm residence, the other farm buildings are often in sorry contrast to the house. These farm buildings are work shops. The farmer has dozens of things to do and is often rushed in doing them. The result is that the barnyard is a litter of old machinery, animal manure, rotted straw stacks, tumble-down fences, and dilapidated buildings. These farm buildings should be arranged compactly, in a quadrangle if possible, painted, well kept, and free from rubbish and débris. As is often said, "clothes do not make the man, but they do help his looks a lot after he is made," so farm buildings are not built first and foremost for beauty but beauty would do much to add to the self-respect of the farmer and the general approval of the public.

Public Roads.—Now that the modern era of road building has arrived, opportunities are offered for developing many roads into scenic highways. The road, traveled in an automobile, not only gives an opportunity to get a panorama of the country landscapes, but may be an object of beauty in itself. If planted with rows and clumps of trees, the shoulders planted to grass and flowers, vistas opened up here and there, and ugly billboards, dumping grounds, and unsightly poles and wires eliminated, the road, with its trail of cement or gravel, can be

[1] WAUGH, FRANK A., *County Planning,* p. 79, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1924.

made one of the greatest objects of rural beauty. It belongs to the public, is built and maintained by public tax money, and, therefore, offers one of the most universal opportunities for country planning.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL ARTS IN RURAL LIFE

The Social Arts, Music, Pageantry and Drama are Closely Akin to Recreation.—A discussion of them has been left for this chapter because, in addition to offering means of social contacts and cooperative action, they also provide most apt ways of developing self-expression, and self expression, looked at from the individual point of view, is the heart and essence of all art.

Music is an art or accomplishment that can be practiced or enjoyed in the most dire isolation. It is one of the most universally appreciated arts. This is true not only in contemporary time but has been so throughout all time. It appeals to the emotions, is the soul of harmony, and can be participated in by one or by thousands. It is an art that can be universal in rural life. The lone cowboy on the plains makes use of it, and it is a part of the greatest multitudes that assemble. Today with the player-piano, graphophone, the radio, the best music of the world is available for rural home life.

In olden days in rural districts, folk music and a "Singing School" were a part of every rural community. These, for the time, have about passed away. With their passage rural life suffered a distinct loss. Even whistling and individual singing are not so prevalent among rural people as they used to be. This is partly due to the absence of music promotion and partly due to those subtle psychological influences which are fast sweeping rural life into our commercial civilization. The process has gone so far that the "silent piano" is often more a piece of furniture than a musical instrument in the rural home. In this field the olden days must be brought back, for the values of music are too great to be sacrificed. As the *Dakota Farmer* puts it:

Farm mothers and fathers, you want your children to have strong, healthy bodies, to be sure. But more than that you want to create in them minds as broad as the prairies on which they live; instill therein ideals as high as the blue heavens that bend over them; and develop souls as pure as the winds that blow between that earth and sky! There are myriad ways to do it, but one of the surest ways is to give them that thing which has been herein advocated—music.[1]

The developing of music in rural districts is being accomplished in various ways. It is quite universally becoming a part of the school curriculum. It received strong impetus from the war period when community meetings which were very numerous almost always made it a part of their programs to sing the popular camp and patriotic songs. Thousands of rural boys learned to sing in the army camps, and brought back with them to their rural communities the love of singing. Numerous recreational events at the school and church, now that there is a revival in rural community life, make use of music in their programs. College extension workers, among both the boys and girls and the adults, are promoting community and group singing. The agricultural press is playing its part. And not least is the fact that graphophones and radios, bought sometimes only as fads, bring music into the rural home.

The rural home is in many ways the best place for the development and practice of musical art. The school has too many other things to do to develop it very completely. The rural child is not distracted by the many competing stimuli of the city and, therefore, can practice music lessons and enjoy the use of music. The writer has noted in observing the awarding of school prizes for the year, in schools that contained both rural and urban children, that the overwhelming majority of prizes for progress in music are won by rural boys and girls. His opportunity for observing this fact has been rather extensive and he has yet to see this tendency violated.

The farm family needs music. At the end of a hard day's

[1] "Music and the Farm Home," *Service Bulletin* No. 112, *The Dakota Farmer,* Aberdeen, South Dakota.

manual labor, the farm man and woman need rest and relaxation. Books, pictures, or any other form of art cannot compete with dropping into an easy chair and listening to one of the children play the piano, or, if there is no one to furnish this type of music, listening to a melody or an opera played on the victrola or heard through the radio.

Home singing and home orchestras are great assets and great pleasures in a rural home. Many wind instruments are easy to learn to play and it is not a difficult thing to develop splendid and diversified home talent in music.

Community music is again being developed. Folk songs originated with rural people, and out of their lives. We may not see a revival of the folk song, for the farmer is too much a member of the cosmopolitan world. But together with other community activities, and, in fact, as a stimulus to other community activities, community sings, community choral clubs and choruses, community orchestras and bands are being, and should be, developed. These things have been more prevalent in the city, not because city people are more musically inclined, but because they have been more easily assembled and because the expert leaders and teachers of music have been located there. Now that the good road and the automobile have overcome the handicaps to assembling, we may expect to see a revival of community singing and music festivities. The American Playground and Recreation Association of America has published a number of pamphlets providing information on how to organize and conduct such programs, and a number of other agencies, such as college extension service, the Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A., are rendering similar services.

The Pageant.—The rural pageant, while not so completely a play event as group or competitive games, is a recreation event with other exceptional values attached to it. It is a combination of art, play, and exhibition. It has for a long while been used to present legends, and historic facts. Recently it has been used to present ideas and standards for social attainments of all kinds. It is powerful in driving home these ideals, because of its highly dramatic technique and because its ideas are presented in visual form. A span of history, a social

situation, or the life of the community as a whole are made to pass in miniature review, as it were, before the eyes of the very people whose lives it seeks to influence.

The pageant is a folk drama.

> It is an attempt of a community to portray in dramatic form the outstanding facts of its historical background, and also to suggest the ideals and aspirations which have a place in its development.[1]

The message of the pageant goes beyond that of mere historical fact to allegory and idealization. It tries at one angle to reach down into the life and soul of the community, and at another angle to point to some noble aspiration for community life. Each community can make its own pageant and thus find or develop community self-expression. One person may have to write the pageant book but dozens, sometimes hundreds, can participate in presenting the public performances.

Some notable uses of the pageant have recently been made in rural life. "King Cotton," an allegorical pageant designed to show the necessity of diversified farming in the face of the advancing boll weevil, was presented at Breneau College, Gainesville, Georgia, in 1920. The Burley Tobacco Growers Cooperative Marketing Association recently presented a pageant showing the life of a tobacco community and the necessity of community loyalty in working out their common marketing problems. The University of Kansas has stimulated the production of pageants in 120 rural communities. The extension division of New York State College of Agriculture has assisted in developing and presenting a number of community pageants, and the American Red Cross and Y. W. C. A. have done the same.

The following is an example of such accomplishments in rural pageantry:

> One locality, without the help of anyone especially gifted, made its own pageant—one so beautiful that it will be remembered to

[1] Atkinson, R. A., "The Community Pageant," equated in *Extension Bulletin* No. 54, p. 320, of New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York, 1922.

the latest day of the youngest child who saw it. An important anniversary in the town was pending, and all agreed that something should be done by way of celebration. The school teacher in the community suggested a pageant. The wise men said, "No. A street parade is the one and only fitting celebration of an historical event," and mentioned one which had been held twenty-five years before. However, six weeks before the date of the celebration, the wise men came to agree with the school teacher, and the pageant book committee went to work. Such studying of old histories, such ransacking of grandmother's attic treasures, such interesting evenings together with pencil and paper and books and ideas! There was a rich historical background: the town had been the oldest English settlement in the state; there were remnants of an Indian tribe living near; the earlier generations of white men had followed the sea; but the present, alas! looked hopelessly uninteresting—plain storekeepers and farmers and summer boarders, with a new element of people of foreign birth. But there were those on the committee who had imagination (a very necessary qualification in the making of pageants), and the last episode was so managed that it drew all the previous episodes together and made clear to the audience the meaning of the whole action. Such was the pageant at Southampton, Long Island.[1]

A good example of the power of the pageant in community spirit development is presented by the following quotation:

"One incident came to my attention the other day which will illustrate how the pageant is bringing together in neighborly relations towns which have always been rivals: The tiny town of *X* and the village of *Y* were such, when *X* got up a baseball game, a dance or even a Red Cross picnic, *Y* positively refused to participate. Of course, the same relation maintained as it does in any typical rural community. But now *X* and *Y* are rehearsing happily together in "The New Day" in neighborly felicity, for they are preparing together their own patriotic play for the audience of ten thousand of their fellow citizens who will assemble to participate with them on the Glorious Fourth! The rehearsals are being conducted in St. Thames, North Carolina, each evening, as I write this, the three hundred players representing twenty-two different villages coming together by automobile from their various homes, some of

[1] *Ibid,* p. 326.

them from a distance of twenty, thirty, and even forty miles. It is heartening in these days of our strivings toward democracy to see such signs. It is like the fresh green of the wheat fields after the barren pilt of the winter plain!"[1]

The Little County Theatre.—Plays and other dramatic performances are being given in rural areas under various auspices in thousands of rural communities. The most notable constructive development in this field is probably in North Dakota, under the tutelage and direction of Professor Alfred G. Arvold, of the University of North Dakota. The following excerpt from a bulletin of his will serve to present this movement quickly:

My story is simple. It is a narrative on a work in the promotion and establishment of community centers in county districts. The scene is laid out on a Dakota prairie where seven out of every eight people are classed as rural. . . . They live in a land whose area comprises 71,000 square miles of rich black soil. The vocation of these people is agriculture.

Because of the stupid monotony of the village and county existence, due to the fact that the people in the county have not found social expression in the neighborhood, the tendency has been for both young and old to move to large cities. . . . That something fundamental must be done along social lines in the county in order to help people find themselves nobody will dispute. . . . The impulse of building up a community spirit in a rural neighborhood may come from without, but the true genuine work of the socialization of the county itself must come from within.

After careful study of hundreds and literally thousands of requests received during the last nine years, from every section of the state of North Dakota, as well as America, for suitable material for presentation on public programs and at public functions, with a personal acquaintance with hundreds of young men and women, whose homes are in small communities and county districts, the idea of The Little County Theatre was conceived. The idea conceived became an actual reality when an old dingy chapel on the second floor of the administration building at North Dakota Agricultural

[1] Quoted from Koch, Professor Frederick, The University of North Carolina, in *Rural and Small Community Recreation*, p. 100, Community Service, New York, 1921.

College located at Fargo, North Dakota, was remodeled into what is known as "The Little County Theatre." It is simply a large playhouse put under a reducing glass and is just the size of an average county town hall. The decorations are plain and simple, the color scheme being green and gold. It is an example of what can be done with hundreds of village halls, used portions of school houses, garrets, and basements in county houses and county churches.

The object of the Little County Theatre is to produce such plays and community programs as can be easily staged in a county church basement, in a county school, in the sitting room of a farm house, in the village or town halls, or any place where people assemble for social betterment. Its principal function is to stimulate an interest for good clean drama and original entertainment among the people living in the open country and villages, in order to help them find themselves that they may become better satisfied with the community in which they live.

The work of the Little County Theatre has more than justified its existence. It has produced scores of plays and community programs. The people who have participated in them seem to have caught the spirit.

Perhaps four of the most interesting incidents which have occurred in connection with the work of the Little County Theatre are the presentation of *A Farm Home Scene in Iceland Thirty Years Ago, The Prairie Wolf, Back to the Farm,* and *A Bee in a Drone's Hive.* All of these productions have come out of the country people themselves. Standing room was at a premium. The Little County Theatre could not hold the crowds, 80 per cent of them were farmers who were eager to see drama of their own creation.

The influence of The Little County Theatre in the state, as well as the nation, has been far reaching. Scarcely a day passes but somebody writes asking for data in regard to it, or for copies of plays, and matter for presentation on public programs. . . . During the last few years in North Dakota, hundreds of people, young and old, have participated in home-talent production and community programs. Thousands of pieces of play matter and pamphlets have been lent to individuals, literary societies, farmers' clubs, civic clubs, and other organizations.

The future work of The Little County Theatre lies not only in the school house, the village hall, the farm home, and the basement

of the county church. The cheap carnival at the county fair must be supplanted by the Harvest Festival in which all the people of the county take an interest and have a part. The farmers' picnic must contain something more than a brass band and a baseball game. These two splendid features must be maintained, but the pageant, a community play, in which the story of life is told, must become as much a part of the farmers' picnic as the picnic lunch itself.

To help people find themselves and their true expression in a community is the idea back of The Little County Theatre. It will serve as a sociological experiment station. Every day its vision grows bigger. In years to come, if the idea is thoroughly carried out, there will be more contented farm communities in the State of North Dakota, because people will have found their true expression in the community. As a dynamic force in spreading the gospel of social recreation among people who reside in this and other states its worth can never be computed. The social life which will eventually be built up around the community will be one characteristic of the inhabitants of that community. The soil must have a soul.[1]

While the work of Professor Arvold is undoubtedly the most outstanding in rural play making in America, there are other institutions and agencies which are pushing the development of this field of rural art and recreation rapidly.

The Rural Organization Department of New York State College of Agriculture offers expert promotion and copies of plays from which to select in this field. The Agricultural College of Utah gives instruction in the producing of plays for country districts and issues, through its Community Service Bureau, lists of suitable plays. The University of Wisconsin began rendering a similar service years ago. The Ohio Agricultural College, New York State College of Agriculture, and Hampton Institute (colored) all give plays at their Farmers' Weeks. The American Playground Association renders service in this field and, of course, numerous local institutions, granges, farm bureaus, and similar organizations are participating in this art movement.

[1] Arvold, Alfred G., *The Soul of the Soil,* pamphlet published by Playground and Recreation Association of America, New York City, 1916.

RURAL LIFE AND RURAL ART

Getting Art and Beauty into Rural Life.—Lorado Taft related the following incident before the American Life Association at Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1920:

A sculptor friend of mine told me the other day that when he was visiting a farmhouse in Poland—and what he saw was typical—the women made beautiful patterns there with sand on the earthen floors, and, doing this year after year, they became very expert until they were able to create some of the most delicate effects imaginable with nothing but sand of different colors. One day, he told me, he rode in a donkey cart—or something equivalent—through the great doorway of one of these farm places and found it strangely decorated with scrolls and arabesques which reminded him of those which Dr. Schlieman found in Greece. To his inquiry "Who did this?" the reply was "Marylka." Marylka proved to be a young peasant girl of thirteen or fourteen. It was not counted remarkable—just a part of her day's job.[1]

Mr. Taft then added, "Out of such things grow logically other and higher forms of art, but how are we going to evolve art from such lives as most of our people live?" Similar incidents could be multiplied in the older countries of Europe and Asia. The ballad music of Denmark fills four thick volumes. Folk lore and folk music is present everywhere. Both France and Denmark are dotted with statues of local celebrities and events. As Dr. E. C. Branson says, "Danish life is deeply rooted in soil rich in art suggestions, traditions, interests, impulses, and achievements." He relates the following personal experiences:

On my way out of town the next morning, I happened to glance down a side street and lo, a great fountain playing twelve streams of water day and night in a tiny park set with shrubs and flowers! It was more surprising and, its history considered, far more wonderful than the great Munich fountain through which half a river runs, or the great fountain at Versailles which the state can afford to display in action only once a month.

[1] *Proceedings,* of American Country Life Association, 1920, Chicago University Press, Chicago, Illinois.

I got the story while waiting for my train. It is the design, in stone and iron, of a young artist born and reared in Vigen, a town lad whose art instincts have had little more to feed on than the drawing lessons in the town school, the art prints and bric-à-brac in the shop windows, the Danish art magazines, art stores, and art schools, the open-air statuary, the glyptolkik, and the Thorvolden Museum in Copenhagen. His first masterpiece was founded and erected at the expense of his native town with an appropriation by the town council, supplemented by small accounts contributed by almost everybody in Vigen.

And this thing happens in a country town of 1,500 inhabitants. . . . It happens in Denmark because a youngster with a bent for art is steeped from his earliest years in a stimulating art atmosphere—in his own home, in the homes of his playmates, in his school surroundings and activities, in the bookshop windows of his native town, in the postcard racks everywhere, in the art galleries, art exhibitions, art journals, and art-filled public squares, parks, and gardens of the Danish Capital.[1]

The quotations from Mr. Taft and Dr. Branson tell us not only of our poverty of rural art interest in America as contrasted with countries of Europe but give us some cue to how to get art into American rural life. We are not an art-loving nation. Our civilization is dominated with trade and commerce and so with commercial values almost wholly. Furthermore, we do not think of art as being a part of the life of the people or as something that arises out of their lives. We shall have to have it taught in our schools and churches and homes. We shall have to make a beginning and allow ourselves to develop a taste and a craving for it, as is always the case with cultural desires and pleasures. Farming will have to be looked upon as a mode of life as well as an occupation and an economic pursuit.

Dr. C. J. Galpin suggests that some art-loving and art-appreciative philanthropist endow a Rural Art Foundation, raise rural art into an equal plane in exhibition and competition with other art, take it beyond the conception of "the man

[1] Branson, E. C., *Farm Life Abroad,* pp. 162-163. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1925.

with a hoe" and maybe create an American School of Rural Art.[1]

The University of Illinois has created an Art Extension Committee which hopes to develop and circulate in rural districts exhibits of small but choice paintings and solar prints of the masterpieces. Women's clubs, the Home Demonstration agents, rural and village libraries, and the rural schools can become mediums for extending the art movement into rural districts. The promotion of plays, pageants, and music will cultivate art interest. The erection of a few monuments, other than the standardized ones to war heroes, would be a beginning.

Getting Rural Life into Art.—The artists of America have not been fair to rural life. The life and activities of rural people are not idealized in painting, sculpture, literature, or music. Whenever they are the subjects of art at all, they are used to depict the bent back, the drear isolation, the unsophistication of the farmer, or some inanimate phase of a rural landscape. As Dr. Galpin says:

> Let American art put itself abreast of the most patent occupation in America, abreast especially of the extraordinary advance in the occupation. (Let it) symbolize this wonderful created thing (the living product of agriculture) and commemorate the moment of joy in the farmer's life when, having made the corn and wheat leap from the dead earth, he turns over to the world food to keep man going. Once to seize the outstanding thing about present-day agriculture, once to discern the idealism in the high-bred product, will be for art to forswear the hoe and to turn to the spirit of life in agriculture.
>
> We ask for interpretation, for expression of the high emotion wrapped up in the agricultural occupation. Emotion, however, that is not all pathos. We want the glory, the exaltation, of the real achievements of the farmer depicted, cast squarely in the eye of the beholder.
>
> We ask for a worthy symbol of agriculture to displace the hoe. We do not know what form it will take, but we trust the discerning artist's mind to create the symbol.[2]

[1] GALPIN, C. J., *Rural Social Problems,* Chap. XIV, The Century Co., New York, 1924.

[2] *Ibid.*

The problems of getting rural life into art and getting art into rural life are reciprocal processes. No one is really going to idealize rural life until rural people themselves love it enough to raise it above the commonplace. On the other hand, few people will believe in the "soul of the soil" or the glories of rural life, so long as others belittle the occupation of the farmer, and by means of jazz and commercial standards consider him and his family inferior to persons of other walks of life. Before we can have a rural art, we shall have to develop a deeper appreciation of the part the farmer and his occupation play in civilization. After this comparatively pioneer, primitive, and transient commercial era has passed in our national life, we may expect to see other than work and monetary interests appear. In the meantime, it is more than desirable that all agencies and persons attempt to vision a better rural life and lend their influences to the development of art, art principles, and art appreciations in rural life.

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Part Three

THE FARMER AND HIS SOCIETY

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FARMER AND HIS COMMUNITY

THE PLACE OF THE COMMUNITY IN SOCIETY

Its Universality.—Man has always been a community animal. In primitive society his community may have included no one except his relatives or blood kinsmen. This was because, with no means of transportation and communication, and little knowledge of how to convert the products of nature into usable goods, only a small group could be sustained within a given geographical area, and there was little or no exchange of goods between geographical areas. Groups ranged over wide areas, but lived in consolidated communities for the sake of protection, and for the advantages of division of labor within the group, and for social intercourse. With the growth of knowledge of production, and the increase in trade and commerce the groups became larger, more diverse, and in some ways more independent in occupations, though more interdependent as members of a group.

Now that the whole world is organized for economic and social endeavor on the basis of a division of labor between institutions and service, a community must be large enough to provide a full set of institutions and service agencies, or it is not even as self-sufficient as was the old kinship group. Education, religion, government, industry, and even recreation, as well as the market are institutionalized outside the home. This development, while a great gain in social efficiency, makes it necessary for everyone to be a member of some definite community in order to participate in the functions which these institutions perform. Life is a unity with a definite set of needs. No one institution can supply all of them. There must, therefore, be some unit of association which will provide all of the necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter, health,

education, religion, recreation, and friends. This associatio is the community.

The community is the first social group in modern life that approaches self-sufficiency. Individuals are never self-sufficient, and institutions are never self-sufficient. Communities, of course, are not self-sufficient in the sense that they could build fences about themselves, and never feel their isolation from the rest of the world. When we say they are self-sufficient, what we mean is that they have all the major social institutions—homes, churches, industries, and governments—as a part of their social machinery; and that they have a sufficiently diverse set of people, interests, and occupations to furnish all kinds of human service and human relations to make every-day life a going concern. Every need and want which is demanded for the sustenance of life, must be supplied by the community, or to the people of the community, through some agency that is a part of the social machinery of the community. The problems of food supplies, health, education, morals, and every other kind of problem which arises out of human life and human associations are present in a local community. Furthermore, the solutions to most of these problems are to be found in, or constructed out of, community cooperation.

Community life consists of organized team work for the sake of supplying the needs and desires of its members. As is the case with a football team, where every member must do a different thing from all others, but all of their activities combined make up the team play, so in community life there are many divisions of labor, but all are for the sake of the common end of sustaining life and supplying its many needs. The elements that constitute a community are its people, the geographic area in which they live, the agencies which serve their needs, and their common purposes in life. The factors which weld them into a common life are their customs, public opinion, their organizations, institutions, and laws. These things keep them in step, serve their common needs, and make out of their diversities a group.

In a local community, people are just as dependent upon

one another or as inter-dependent with one another as they are in a larger society. In some ways the inter-dependence of people in a local community is more pronounced than in other associations. If there is an epidemic, a source of bad sanitation, a definite immoral element in the community, or a common task to be performed, all members of the community are more likely to recognize it and be concerned about it than they are when such problems confront the state or nation. On the other hand, business and commercial relations are so often matters of wider contacts than those furnished by the local community, and books, magazines, newspapers, and apt modes of transportation and communication are such perfect means of reaching people outside the local community, that some persons who live in the community do not feel themselves to be very much a part of it. Of course, these people are members of the community, and are dependent upon all of its services, just as truly as if they recognized this fact. A person cannot escape from community life and live, unless he lives like the lower animals.

The local community furnishes not only the physical environment of the persons who live within it, but it supplies nearly all of their social environment. Their motives, habits, and ambitions are conditioned, and measured by the standards that exist in the local community. Their characters are made and tested there. The community furnishes the social atmosphere for all of their institutions. It pours its influence into their lives, and they pour their lives into it, just as soon as they step their feet out of their homes. It furnishes them nearly all of their physical and social contacts, and it is out of these contacts that they manufacture, not only their attainments, but their selves and personalities.

Rural Community Life in the United States.—Farmers, the world over, until comparatively recently, have not been different in their desires for community life from all other peoples of all times. The colonial farmers, for the most part, lived in compact little communities favorably situated by sea or river, and any extensive agriculture that was carried on was on land that radiated outward from the center where the people lived.

The present New England town organization is a direct result of the form of social organization of these early American communities. The settlements of Plymouth, Salem, New Paltz, Quaker Hill, and dozens of less famous communities settled by English, Dutch, and French, were all communities of this type.[1] The Boston and New Haven commons are heritages of these early colonial settlements. In Europe these colonists had lived in such agricultural villages, and they thus naturally established the same scheme of social organization when they settled in this country.

Almost in the very beginning of agricultural development in America, however, the tendency toward disintegration of the close community settlement began. The colonist, for the first time, in many instances, had the opportunity for individual land ownership. Convenient hillsides or fertile uplands, a short distance away from the central settlement, invited them to a degree of isolated residence. Grants of large tracts of land from home governments led to the establishment in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere of large estates, and an attempt on the part of their owners to construct large manors of feudal estates such as had prevailed for a number of centuries in Europe. The Van Cortlandt and Rensselaer manors in New York, Doughoregan Manor of the Carrolls, in Maryland, and the Tinton Manor in East Jersey were examples of this type of settlement.[2] The breakdown of these compact settlements went on at a rapid rate with the occupancy of the so-called "Colonial frontier," or old west, *i.e.*, with the settlement of the back country of New England, Mohawk Valley, Great Valley of Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and the whole Piedmont plateau east of the Alleghenies. It became complete with the settlement of the New West, the great agricultural regions of the nation at the present time.

[1] Elting, I., "Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River," from *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Vol. IV; and Adams, H. B., "Common Fields in Salem," the same series, Vol. I.

[2] Andrews, C. M., "Colonial Folkways," *The Chronicles of America Series,* Vol. IX, Chap. II, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1919.

Into these great, new, fertile agricultural areas, people poured from all sections of Europe and out of the older settled areas of America. Land was plentiful and rich, and population was scarce and, for the most part, economically poor. The impulse on the part of the land hungry to gain individual ownership made them willing to forego the universal and age-long tendency to settle in close communities. The result was the establishment of the isolated farm residence for the first time in the history of the world. The density of population in the state of Iowa as late as 1900 was only forty and two-tenth persons per square mile. In the writer's own home neighborhood in Iowa, in 1900, where his father settled in 1874, on an isolated prairie tract of land with not a house in sight of his residence, there were two families directly from England, one directly from Germany, one from New York, one from Missouri, two from eastern Iowa—previously from Indiana, and one from Pennsylvania. This cosmopolitan population, living on the average of at least one-half mile apart, each conducting an almost self-sufficient farm for two decades, presents a picture of what had happened to the compact community life which prevailed in the early colonies.

The task before the American farm family now is how to construct a functioning community life out of these diverse population elements. The days of the self-sufficient farm are gone with the coming of the market and the exhaustion of the native fertility of the soil. The privations which the pioneers endured for the sake of individual ownership are no longer necessary, much less inviting and desirable. Some sort of community and community life must be constructed in order that those who live on these thoroughly established, isolated farmsteads may have the facilities and opportunities of modern life.

During the last ten years, the community movement and community idea have gained great headway. The coming of the Rural Free Delivery, the rural telephone, the better roads, and automobiles have set up contacts, and created a desire for more contacts among rural people. The knowledge of modern facilities and standards of culture is almost universal on the

part of farm people. They are bound to seek means and methods of availing themselves of these things. The experiences through which they passed during the late war showed them the efficiency of group and community action, revealed to them methods of community and neighborhood organization, and started processes to work which will not stop until a higher degree of community life and action is attained. Practically all agencies now working for the improvement of rural life are working on a community basis to some extent. The farm and home demonstration work, the various farmers' marketing projects, the recreation and uplift agencies, such as Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., and even the schools and churches, are now working on community programs. The community movement, represented in city life by the public ownership of public utilities, consumers' cooperative stores, settlement houses, community centers, institutional, church, and community forums in cities, has reached the rural districts.[1] Furthermore, national, state, county, and volunteer groups are talking, promoting, and organizing community agencies and projects in rural areas all over the nation. The results are sure to be the gaining for rural people all of those things which we have described as resulting from community life.

THE NEED FOR RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Uniqueness of Rural Life.—In cities much cooperation is compulsory. The streets or pathways are all laid out, and must be followed; the factory and workshop start and stop at regular hours; the municipality has sanitary and housing laws which must be observed; the water, sewer, and light systems are public utilities; and the reign of law and government is quite universal. In the rural districts most utilities are provided by the individual farm family; the farmer starts and stops work when he pleases, or when necessity requires. He manages his own farm and household himself, and is seldom required to alter his individual inclinations because of outside

[1] LINDEMAN, E. C., *The Community,* Chap. VI, Association Press, New York, 1921.

compulsion. The result is that he rebels against what Professor Carver calls, "the tyranny of the mass." His geographic isolation, which has existed through generations and in the practices of his own individual life, has led to a social and psychological isolation which makes cooperation, in a wider unit than the family, more or less unnatural to him. Every member of the rural community realizes that he has a status as an individual; but because of the long practices of individualism, he often fails to see that he also has a status and a responsibility in community life. The rural community is exceptionally democratic in the sense that each individual has a worth of his own, but is highly undemocratic when it comes to the practice of community cooperation. The farmer has come to participate in the institutional life of the community, but chiefly because each institution satisfies a special need of himself or his family. He refuses to be "uplifted," and so to a considerable degree refuses to assist in "uplift" projects for others. Nothing is more indicative of the attitude of rural people than the stigma which attaches to an individual or a family that cannot make his or its own way in life. The prevalence of this attitude sometimes leads to the neglect of these people when they need community assistance.

There are relatively few people in a rural community. This has not only decreased social contacts and habits of group action, but makes any group program or project difficult; and makes some types, that are practical in the city, impossible. If social classes exist in the rural community, as they often do in the South where the tenant and the Negro are prevalent, this further restricts the available people for democratic action. The rural community is likely to be made up of diverse ethnic groups—persons who have come into it from various geographic areas, and with different habits and customs. There are few opportunities or necessities for community political actions, which, in altogether too many cases, has been the only occasion for corporate action on the part of American people. The presence or absence of these very things in rural life constitutes the greatest need for community action. If the population is sparse, there is all the more reason why each

person needs to put himself in a position to give assistance to and receive assistance from all the others. If people are geographically isolated, the need is still greater for bringing into their lives those things which are universal where people live face to face. If there is a diversity of ethnic groups, they must work together, because there are not great enough numbers of each group to furnish the necessary institutional and community facilities for each group to work alone. If there are social classes in the community, they must cooperate for the same reason. If "uplift" is needed, the very isolation of the one in need magnifies his need for social assistance. The difficulties of successful community action in rural communities is what makes it so often absent there. Its absence constitutes the need for its promotion and development.

The Growing Need for Larger Units of Cooperation.—Profound changes have taken place in rural economic and social life in the last century. In many farming areas it has taken place very recently. Like all great historic changes, the consciousness of it has followed long after needed adjustments to it have been present. Chief among these causes of change has been the growth of commercial agriculture and the consequent dominance of the market in rural economy. The coming of steam, electricity, and gasoline motive power probably follows next in significance. Following these come the drift of one-time universal farm processes into the factory; the growth of villages; the development of public facilities such as roads, telephones, and mail routes; and, by no means least, the natural desire of rural people for better schools, churches, recreation centers, and other cultural facilities which their closer contacts with city life have led them to know are available to other segments of our national population.

The growth of the market in rural economy led to the need on the part of the farmer to take the village into his every-day life and plans. It eliminated his dependence upon his own farm as an all-sufficient economic unit. He now came to produce for the market many of those things which pay best, and to buy from the market many of the things which he previously produced on his own farm, and to buy even more of the things

which he and his family at one time went without. The development of steam, electricity, and gas motive power, together with good roads, the automobile, and telephone, widened his area of contacts, and set up possibilities and desires of wider units of group action. The drift of farm processes into industrial-producing plants, led to his need for these plants, and his desire to have some control over their operation. His consciousness of cultural satisfactions led to a demand on the part of himself, and especially his family, for many things which cannot possibly be supplied from the farm, or even by the few and small institutions which served his need in an earlier day. Professor Sanderson says: "A rural community consists of the people in a local area tributory to the center of their common interest." [1] This center was at one time a neighborhood affair, most often centering about the school, the church, or some cross-road store. These small centers no longer furnish satisfactions for his wider and more cosmopolitan interests. He, therefore, needs a wider unit of association, and needs it organized, that it may consistently render these services.

The institutions of the rural community are no longer adequate to serve its needs, although at the time they were established, they made contributions by way of services which constituted great steps of progress in rural life. The one-room school made as great a comparative contribution to rural life in the day it was established, as the most modern consolidated rural school in America could now make. The small denominational church was a great gain to a community that had previously possessed no church at all.

The coming of the cross-road store provided a service the absence of which had seriously handicapped the life of the pioneer family. The rural community has now outgrown all of these units of service, and is rapidly outgrowing the loyalties which have perpetuated them after better facilities are obtainable.

An institution is automatically a specialized service agency.

[1] Sanderson, D., *The Farmer and His Community*, p. 10, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922.

Its capacity to serve a specific need in a specific way is what led to its institutionalization. Each institution developed out of a human need. Each attempts to serve this need in its own specific way. The tragedy of institutions is that, when the need changes or a better mode of satisfying a need arises, the institution, school, or church, fails to respond with the better service. This thing has happened in rural life. New needs have arisen, wider areas of association have been developed in market and social contacts, new interests and loyalties have been established. Because, however, the old one-room school and the small denominational church are there, because they are institutionalized, have institutional-vested interests of their own, and have established over the generations areas of association and intensity of loyalties, they refuse to give way.

Now that other areas and processes of association have widened old loyalties, these small inadequate institutions are dying, and unless adequate institutions fitted to the wider area of the farmer's present life are furnished to replace them, his loyalty to the service which they render will die also. Rural life will then be robbed of the services which they should furnish.

The truth of this fact is tragically revealed in the decadence and death of thousands of rural churches, and even the small attendance in thousands of one-room schools. The life and needs of the farmer must be institutionalized on a wider base, a base that squares with his other areas of association, and with his more cosmopolitan interests in life.

The Need for Community Control.—In seeking and finding, or creating, wider areas of operation and wider areas of institutionalization, the farmer is confronted with the task, not only of breaking down loyalties to, and habitual practices in, the old areas and institutions, but with the very real problem of how to construct new facilities which will fit his needs and belong to him. In the period of disintegration of the old, he has developed either the habit of going without, or using, the facilities and services which could be supplied by the nearby town. The town, however, is a municipality within

itself. It belongs to another group. Its area of control does not include the rural districts which surround it, although its functioning in rendering service often does. The farmer has a deep sense of economic proprietorship, and an even deeper sense of social proprietorship. It is therefore desirable and probably necessary that he have a unit of service and control that he can feel is his own.

In developing new services for himself and his family, the farmer has developed a number of specialized control districts —school districts, road districts, drainage districts, and animal disease-control districts. Most of these he has incorporated and operated to serve his needs. When the old small school districts became inadequate, he formed consolidated districts; and when transportation was established on a wider base, he formed township- and even county-road districts. The need seems now to have arisen for a complete rural municipality. As Dr. C. J. Galpin says:

> The genius of a municipality is its equipment of legal powers, and natural environing circumstances for efficacious home rule . . . a municipality is established by law and set going, like a machine. . . . It is a single quite complicated machine, usually contrived to take care of a great number of very diverse projects . . . a group of people, having geographic unity, with similar interests, incorporated by legislative enactment, given privileges and powers of home rule according to the size and needs of the group, is the best that civilization can yet offer as a local political unit.[1]

The area for incorporation which Doctor Galpin proposes, would constitute an alliance between village and rural community, with three zones. Zone One would be the village proper. Zone Two would be the immediately adjacent rural territory which uses the town not only for trade purposes, but many social sources as well. Zone Three would be those more remote rural areas which have some interests and need for services common with the town, but in addition have interests and needs not represented at all in Zone One. The desirability

[1] GALPIN, C. J., *Rural Social Problems,* pp. 215-216, The Century Company, New York, 1924.

of such a scheme of rural-community organization, and the beginning attempts at its establishment will be discussed in a later section of the chapter. Suffice it to make the point here that the farmer does need some such scheme of organization as a tool for carrying on his enlarged and cosmopolitan activities.

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND ORGANIZATIONS

Forms and Schemes of Rural Community Organization.— Whenever and wherever common interests and needs arise and larger units of cooperation and association than the farm family are used in promoting these interests and satisfying these needs, community organization has begun. The development of such cooperative activities among rural people are now practically universal, though varying widely in form and compass. Some of these activities scarcely rise to the plane of organization at all, but they are nevertheless part of the growing need and tendency to do things by means of group action, and so must be considered as part of the trials, errors, and successes by means of which the farmer is remaking and reintegrating his mode of work and life. Organization is never for organization's sake, anyway, and where promoted on that basis has universally failed. Any attempt, therefore, to set up a universal scheme for rural community organization is both futile and foolish. Such an organization will not appear in America until we have developed a density of population beyond the furthest reaches of present imagination. Even then it will have to appear as a product of experience and experiment, and not as a product of the mind of some ingenious rural social engineer. This is not to say, however, that the study and promotion of better and more efficient forms of social cooperation are not worthy on the part of every one who lives in the country, or who seeks to work for a better rural life. The results already obtained have, of course, come from just such endeavors.

It would be impossible to describe all the various kinds of rural organizations that exist in the open country. Anyone

who, for a few years, will read and clip the agricultural journals and other periodicals dealing with rural life affairs, will find himself in possession of descriptions of such diverse community projects and programs as to make him see that classification is impossible. We shall not here even attempt to list types in the sense of offering these types as a classification of rural community organizations, but only as evidence of the universality of the movement, and its gradual tendency to take even more definite form on the bases of wider areas and more composite programs.

The types of organizations listed here have not appeared chronologically; though, taking the nation as a whole, the sequence has been somewhat in the order mentioned. At any rate, the order in which they have appeared in rural life has been first, the loose and narrower forms of organization; and, later, the more constitutional and broader forms of organization. The reader will have to depend for illustration on the citation given in the footnotes, since lack of space here forbids detailed description of organization.

Informal and Spasmodic Meetings.—These have, of course, been a part of the practices of rural districts in all times. The frequency with which members of rural communities are meeting together, and the larger groups that are assembling are the new things about such community action today. This is due to easier and better means of transportation, the establishment of better meeting places, and the appearance in rural affairs of a number of experts who seek to give assistance in one way or another to rural people. The writer witnessed, within the last sixty days of the time he is writing this chapter, a gathering of between 2,000 and 3,000 people at a rural graduating exercise and basket dinner. This was in the wide-open country, thirteen miles from the nearest town. There were probably from 800 to 1,000 automobiles there, and not a single horse-drawn vehicle present. People had come from as far as twenty miles for this occasion. Such a gathering would have been impossible before the day of automobiles. By actual count of frequency of community gatherings, the first year after consolidation shows an increase between ten and eleven

times that of the year before the districts were consolidated. Farm and home demonstration workers, agricultural extension specialists, health workers, and other specialists, coming into farm communities, increase the frequency of the meeting of rural people. In all of these illustrations, we are speaking only of the type of meeting that is not periodic or prearranged by some established community organization. This is happening everywhere in rural communities in America, and can, in a way, be looked upon as the first chronological step toward community organization.

Community Fairs and Exhibits.—These, while not forms of community action that are common to all American rural communities, have in one form or another come along with the promotion of scientific agriculture. They vary all the way from loosely organized affairs to planned agricultural exhibits, with educational, recreational, and social features carefully worked out in advance. Many of them have a definite organization, with officers, committees, and even constitution and bylaws. The point stressed here, however, is not the scheme of their organization, but the fact that they have arisen quite naturally out of a new element that has recently entered the rural community, namely, scientific agriculture, with its definite standards of measurement and established method of demonstration teaching.[1]

Cooperative Enterprises.—Among farmers in America, these took their rise chiefly following the Civil War. The Grange, the Agricultural Wheel, the two organizations of the Farmers' Alliance, and later the Farmers' Union, the Equity, and the Gleaners were, or are, national farmers' societies. Most of these societies arose out of the attempt on the part of the farming population to catch step with the methods of the business and commercial world into which rural people now found their affairs cast. Most of these groups had schemes of social organization, periods for regular meetings, and, often, well-organized community programs. Some of them—notably the

[1] Morgan, J. S., "The Community Fair," *Farmers' Bulletin* No. 870 United States Department of Agriculture, Washington; and Jordan, S. M., "Entertainments for Farm Fairs," *Monthly Bulletin* No. 3, Vol. XXI, Missouri State Board of Agriculture, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Grange, the Gleaners, and the Farmers' Union—have done outstanding pieces of work in furnishing to farm communities better meeting facilities, as well as programs of enlightenment and entertainment.[1] More recently the farm bureau and the great farmers' cooperative marketing organizations have come into the field. The farm bureau attempts to encompass all the needs of the rural communities in its activities, and a number of the cooperatives have developed community programs and community local organizations which furnish education, recreation, and entertainment as well as care for cooperative business affairs at their meetings.[2] On the whole, the community programs and projects of these organizations may be said to be by-products of their economic purpose, although this is not true of the Grange, which, from its origin has been a social and fraternal organization.

Clubs of various kinds have arisen by the thousands in the rural communities of the nation. Some of these, such as the Missouri Farmers' Club, the Illinois agricultural clubs of the sixties, and the boys' and girls' production clubs of the agricultural-extension work have been systematically promoted for economic purposes. In addition to these, however, there are literary clubs, community improvement clubs, womens' clubs, etc. Some of these conduct their activities only during the slack-work seasons, and others are permanently organized with a set of permanent annual officers, and carry on their work regularly throughout the year.[3] These clubs are probably the most universal of any kind of organization found in

[1] Weist, E., *Agricultural Organization in the United States,* Chaps XVI, XVII, XIX, XX, and XXI, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, 1923; and Butterfield, *Chapters in Rural Progress,* Chap. X, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1907.

[2] Burrett, M. C., *The County Agent and The Farm Bureau,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922; and Kile, O. M., *The Farm Bureau,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921; also Kelly, E., *Handbook for Organizing Agricultural Communities,* Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Association, Raleigh, North Carolina; Lantis, B. Y., *Several Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Markets,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1925.

[3] Lantis, L. O., "Farmers' Clubs," *Extension Bulletin,* Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1917-1918; Chocheron, B. H., "Agricultural Clubs in California," California Experiment Station *Circular* No. 190, Berkeley, California; Hayes, A. W., "Examples of Community Enterprise in Louisiana," *Research Bulletin* No. 3, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

rural districts, and are an index to an enlivened community life and a felt need for specific action in different directions or on definite projects.

School and Church Community Programs.—The old, well-established institutions of the rural community have responded to the need for better and wider community action, and have begun to develop community programs in addition to carrying on their specialized institutional functions. The consolidated school particularly has contributed much to the development of community meetings, community programs, and community organization. But even before the consolidated school appeared, the smaller schools and their developing community programs were here.[1] The consolidated school serves a wider area and a greater number of families, has a larger and better-equipped set of buildings and grounds, is almost universally provided with an auditorium, and is itself an index to the establishment of the wider farm community. It is considered by many to be the ideal basis upon which to construct a rural community center. A careful study of its influence would probably reveal that it is giving more definite form to the new and reintegrated rural community than any other agency.[2]

The tendency on the part of the rural church to enlarge its community program was probably more marked before the day of the consolidated school than any other rural institution. Agricultural journals, church papers, and national periodicals have for the last decade been presenting examples of such outstanding community activities on the part of hundreds of rural churches. Particular denominations, such as the Mennonites, Dunkers, Almish, and particularly the Mormons have built all community activities and community life about the church. Federated and union and community churches are becoming more prevalent. The activities of the church vary all the way from ladies' aid societies to complete

[1] Carney, M., "Country Life and the Country School," and Chocheron, B. H., *et al.*, "The Rural School as a Community Center," *Tenth Year Book of National Society for Study of Education,* Part II, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1911.

[2] Cook, J. H., "The Consolidated School as a Community Center," *Proceedings,* American Sociological Society, Vol. XI, pp. 97-105, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1916.

community organization programs. All these activities are indexes to the community movement in rural life.[1]

Federations and Community Councils.—These have begun to appear in rural communities. Federations of all the social agencies of a community have come near accomplishing the complete organization of the rural community. At least, they accomplish the integration and coordination of all the special activities that are being carried on in the community. Such organizations not only bring all the agencies and institutions resident in the rural community together, to work out a well rounded community program, but tend to eliminate duplication and overorganization, both of which have become serious menaces to rural advancement. The movement which we have been discussing has become so universal, such great numbers of new organizations and agencies have sprung up, and old agencies have so widened their activities that they are jostling each other, and sometimes harassing the rural community in their attempts to serve its interests.

Community councils and federations bring representatives of all these agencies together into a central advisory group, and plan for an acceptable division of labor between themselves. Sometimes this central group has the powers of an executive body. Such organizations bring together all such affiliations as have just been discussed, and promote all the activities which these separate bodies have been developing. In as far as they are a natural outgrowth of what has gone before, they seem to constitute the next proper step in rural organization.

The community-council form of organization has its set of officers, its executive committee (the community council), its sub-committees on agriculture, business, health, morals and religion, education, recreation, and sometimes others. It holds an annual community mass meeting at which it elects its

[1] See Zumbrunnen, A. C., *The Community Church,* University of Chicago Press, 1922; Fiske, G. W., *The Challenge of the Country,* Chap. VII, Association Press, New York, 1919; Wilson, Warren H., *The Church of the Open Country,* Chaps. II, V, and VII, Eaton and Mains, New York, 1911; and Hargreaves, J. R., "The Rural Community and Church Federation," *American Journal of Sociology,* September, 1914.

officers, receives reports, and constructs plans for the following year. It is about as complete a plan of community organization as can be expected at the present time; and, while by no means prevalent in rural districts, is in existence in a number of places. It may be properly looked on as the present end product of all the activities and organized endeavors which have developed during the period of rural community movement.[1]

Incorporated Rural Communities.—For some time, states have been enacting laws permitting rural people to incorporate areas of community interest and concern, in order that they may more adequately provide for larger and wider programs of community action. Examples of enactment, enabling the formation of new and consolidated school areas, are found in a great many states. Wisconsin and Michigan have passed laws enabling rural communities to establish community councils, community centers, and community buildings in areas defined by their own needs. In Arkansas and Michigan amendments to the school laws have been passed which enable school districts to cross county boundaries.[2]

In only one state, however, has provision been made for the incorporation of rural communities to carry on, under political control, all activities which they may care for or need. Section 6, of the North Carolina laws, provides that:

> At each meeting of the registered voters of a community, they shall have the right to adopt, amend, or repeal ordinances, provided such action is not inconsistent with the laws of North Carolina or

[1] "Rural Organization," *Proceedings,* Third National Country Life Conference, 1920; also, "Reports of Committee on Country Life Organization," in other volumes of the same *Proceedings,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois; McClenahan, B. A., *Organizing the Rural Community,* Chaps. V and VI, The Century Company, New York 1922; Lindeman, E. C., *The Community,* Chaps. X and XI, Association Press, New York, 1921; Morgan, E. L., "Mobilizing the Rural Community," *Extension Bulletin* No. 23, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Massachusetts, 1918; *Report of Twentieth Anniversary of Cooperative Education League of Virginia,* Richard, Virginia, 1924.

[2] Douglas, H. P., "Recent Legislation Facilitating Rural Community Organization," *Proceedings,* Third National Country Life Conference, 1920, pp. 117-132, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

the United States, concerning the following subjects: *the public roads of the community; the public schools of the community; regulations intended to promote public health; the police protection; the abatement of nuisances; the care of paupers, aged, or infirm persons; to encourage the coming of new settlers; the regulation of vagrancy; aids to the enforcement of state and national laws; the collection of community taxes; the establishment and support of public libraries, parks, halls, playgrounds, fairs, and other agencies of recreation, education, health, music, art, and morals.*

Even the North Carolina community incorporation law does not fully provide for the needs of an adequate community. Its application is restricted to too small an area—a county-school district not exceeding two miles square. Such an area is not only too small for the broader functions of the modern rural community, but is too likely to be applied to present school districts which may not coincide at all with other community areas and interests. Six rural communities have thus far incorporated under the provisions of the act, and while none of them have promoted all of the activities enabled by the act, they have the municipal unit, board of directors, and the autonomous legal power to do so. The significance of the law is far reaching as a precedent. It sets the stage for the establishment of a rural municipality whenever the community movement has developed a sufficiently large and accurate body of knowledge to know what it wants and should have.

Constructed Communities.—One of the most significant movements of the present is the tendency on the part of the Reclamation Division of the United States Department of the Interior to construct complete communities in reclamation areas. In advocating this policy, it is following the example of California, where two complete settlements—communities planned and developed with all modern facilities of community life—have been built. In addition to the impetus which the Reclamation Service will apparently give the movement, there is the newly organized Farm Communities Association, which takes for its purpose the construction of complete communities

in now settled or partially settled areas. If these two agencies succeed in their efforts, we may expect to see much of our unoccupied land some day developed into complete and scientifically constructed rural communities.[1]

Some Principles of Rural Community Organization.—In the immediately preceding section of this chapter, we have attempted to show that rural community activity has greatly increased in America in the last generation; that the organized activities of rural people are very diverse but quite universal; that there is developing a tendency to federate or consolidate these activities into a unified community program; and that there are appearing some signs of a definite recognition of the existence of, and need for, autonomous rural community municipal entities. Let us now draw together some observations and generalizations concerning all these diverse activities.

In the first place, it is apparent to all those who have observed rural activities and rural life first hand throughout the nation, that no patent scheme of community organization will yet apply to all rural communities. Some rural communities are composed of ethnic or religious groups that have an institutional or psychological autonomy that does not exist in others. Some have such diverse racial elements in them that complete community association is not at all feasible or possible. Some are being rapidly disintegrated and reintegrated because of their proximity to village, or even city, areas, while others are yet little affected by the influence. Some have developed a long gamut of community activities and organization, while others are yet living in the pioneer stage of agriculture.

Obviously, therefore, the *first principle* of community organization must be to build upon, coordinate, and facilitate community action on the basis of the activities and agencies already there.

[1] Meade, E., *Helping Men Own Farms,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920; Black, J. D. and Gray, L. C., "Land Settlement and Colonization in the Great Lakes States," *Department Bulletin* No. 1295, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1925.

The *second principle* should be to widen the scope and activities of the existent agencies to wider units and diversity of interests.

The *third principle* should be to bring representatives and leaders of these agencies, institutions and organizations together in a council, in order that duplication may be eliminated, and new activities be encouraged by the agencies and leaders in whom the people have confidence.

The *fourth principle* should be to educate all agencies and leaders of those activities which work with wider units of social organization than the family, to the efficacy of group or community action in carrying forward their projects, and in rendering service to rural people.

The *fifth principle* should be to make the leaders and directors of overhead organizations and agencies who have representatives working in rural districts see that the people of the local rural community are of greater importance than the smooth administrative working or vested interests of any national, state, or institutional piece of machinery.

The *sixth principle* should be to establish a local receiving station, as it were, a community meeting place, of some character where the members of the community can receive all the messages which are being broadcast from dozens of central stations for their benefit. At the present time the local rural community is not in a position even to receive the service attempting to aid it, chiefly because each of its specific needs is trying to be served by one or more agencies which have no apt medium through which to transmit its message.

The *seventh principle* should be to encourage participation in community action on the part of all members of the community. Through such participation, leadership and self-support will be developed. Community organization must grow out of a knowledge, on the part of rural people, of their capacity to render service to themselves. It is only by means of democratic participation in supplying satisfactions of common needs and desires that community life and community action can be accomplished.

COMMUNITY CENTERS AND BUILDINGS

The Community Center Idea.—The community center may be thought of as a specialized community building, specifically erected for community-wide purpose; or as some building already in existence where the community most often gathers together; or a whole set of buildings organized at a geographic center; or even as a village where rural people find the greatest number of service agencies by means of which to satisfy their individual and common desires.

Whatever it is, it should be real, tangible, and recognized by the people who use it as belonging to them. Furthermore, it should be planned and operated as a center of community interest and service. It should not be an artificially constructed thing, else it will be nothing more than a center in name. Some persons have presented ideal and Utopian schemes for community centers with a set of buildings, play spaces, and personnel to operate them. Such facilities are not possessed by city communities, and would not fit into any scheme of community organization less perfectly organized than communism. What rural people want and what they are tending to develop are centers where their dominant interests can be served and their common life developed. The school and the church have been doing this ever since their establishment; the marketplace now does it in one or more capacities; the public recreation places do it in another capacity; and still other centers do it for other common interests. Professor C. J. Galpin set this forth clearly when he made what he called a study of "the Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community."[1] Similar studies have since been made in different areas of the United States. All tend to show that, as the structure of rural society has developed, it has developed different areas of service for each rural interest. There are trade zones, school zones, church zones, recreation zones, and the like. Even the trade zones do not always cover the same area, for

[1] Galpin, C. J., *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

many of their functions depend for adequate service upon established economic and social institutions whose efficiency of operation demand different volumes of clientele for support. Thus, rural life not only has, but probably should have, its interests served from various centers. To try to organize it otherwise, would not only be Utopian but futile.[1]

It should not be assumed, however, that because the structure of rural society and the organization of its social interests have developed along certain lines, nothing can or should be done to furnish better facilities for serving these interests, or even that nothing can or should be done to develop centers of activity and organization different from any that now exist. The changes that have taken place in rural life, due to the coming of commercial agriculture and better means of transportation and communication, have disintegrated many of the old centers with the result that many rural interests are now being poorly served. The present dominance of the market in agricultural economy has tended to pull rural people together into contact in the villages and towns. In the town the institutions are either built to serve the needs of the trades people, or are commercialized. We still need, therefore, the promotion of centers which will definitely and adequately serve the interests of rural people.

One-room Schools.—These have been known to develop into community, or, probably better considered, neighborhood centers, where neighborhood playgrounds have been constructed, bands and other community musical organizations organized, farmers' institutes held, cooperative buying clubs formed, boys' and girls' production clubs organized, farm demonstration plats constructed, women's clubs formed, neigh-

[1] See the following three reports of studies in different sections of the country as evidence of the great difference in population, ethnic groups, traditional and present structure of rural society: Kolb, J. H., "Rural Primary groups," *Research Bulletin* No. 51, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Sanderson, D., "Locating the Rural Community," New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York; and Zimmerman, C. C. and Taylor, Carl C., "Rural Organization, A Study of Primary Groups in Wake County, North Carolina," *Bulletin* No. 245, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, North Carolina.

borhood socials held, clubs of all kinds formed, entertainments and social meetings of all kinds held.[1]

Consolidated Schools.—Very frequently, these develop into community centers. They furnish meeting places for farmers' institutes and short courses, community clubs, parent-teachers' associations, Sunday-school conventions, community socials, lecture courses, school and community dramas and concerts, old settlers' picnics, community fairs, farm demonstrations of all kinds, cooperative meetings, athletic meets, and practically every other form of community or neighborhood activity imaginable.[2]

Rural Churches.—These, also, have in a great many instances developed into community centers. The pastor and the congregation have used the church buildings for all kinds of social gatherings, made space available for conducting high schools, developed recreational and athletic facilities, organized different musical groups, given home-talent entertainments, organized community study courses, lent their buildings for farmers' institutes and other agricultural club meetings, turned the parish house into open house, and in many other ways made them available and useful in serving the needs of the whole community.[3]

Grange and Farm Union Halls have served in many areas of the country as community centers. The programs of these societies themselves are as broad and diverse as the interests of the community. But in addition to their own organization programs, these halls have been used for religious, educational, entertainment, social, and business meetings of all kinds in which all members of the community may participate whether members of these secret societies or not.

Community Buildings.—These have been constructed fairly

[1] KIMBALL, ALICE M., "Rallying Round the School," *Country Gentleman,* Jan. 19, and Jan. 26, 1918.

[2] HAYES, A. W., *Rural Community Organization,* Chap. VI, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1921.

[3] PHELAN, J., *Readings in Rural Sociology,* pp. 411-421, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920; WILSON, WARREN H., *The Church of the Open Country,* Chap. II, Eaton and Mains, New York, 1911; MORSE, R. *Fear God in Your Own Village,* Chaps. VI, VII, and VIII, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1918.

rapidly in different sections, in the last two decades. A survey by the United States Department of Agriculture found 256 such structures. Most of them are in small towns, but eighty-three are in the open country. These include school, church, and fraternal society buildings, but a number of them are buildings financed by donations, subscriptions, or tax levies. It is unnecessary to list the activities and interests which center in these buildings and on their grounds, for every type of legitimate activity which may be needed or developed in the community where it is located is furnished facilities by these halls. Their equipment provides for all sorts of athletic, recreational, or social meeting. Often, they are manned by a paid personnel, and managed by a democratically elected board of governors. Boys, girls, adults, and little children find in them a home and adequate facilities to satisfy practically all their social desires, whether for reading, playing, or working in groups of similar desires and interests.[1]

A quotation from Dr. C. J. Galpin in the preface of one of the bulletins setting forth the facts concerning community buildings, indicates that the community building is, for the present, the farthest step that has been taken in organizing the rural community. He says:

> Two widely diverging and competing points of view in public matters have characterized rural life in America for generations. The family point of view has led to a struggle among leading families for family dominance, while the community point of view, tending to weld neighborhood families into an individual whole, has led to a common struggle with the forces of nature and with tradition and inertia for community control in matters that concern the common weal.
>
> The race between these two types, which we may call the family régime and the community régime, has in the last decade gone strongly to the community type. So steady, indeed, has been the looming of the community that now, while the pure gold of family ideals bids fair to be carefully conserved, the spirit of family domi-

[1] United States Department of Agriculture *Bulletin* No. 825, *Farmers' Bulletins* Nos. 1274 and 1192.

nance in rural social life seems likely sooner or later to be merged into the community spirit.[1]

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[1] *Farmers' Bulletin* No. 1192, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1921.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FARMER AND HIS TOWN

WHAT IS THE FARMER'S TOWN

Growing Town and Country Relationships.—In an earlier chapter, the changes that have taken place in town and country relationships were indirectly described. It was pointed out how the agricultural village, at one time so prevalent in early American life, gave way to the isolated farm as a place for farm family residence, and how there is now a tendency to re-establish some community center to furnish the facilities which rural people lack because of their isolation. No new factor in the later period of this change is more important than the increasing conscious relationships between town and country people. The American farmer goes to town now ten times where he did not go once two generations ago and the other members of the farm family have increased their town contacts to an even greater extent. The farmer, himself, even in pioneer agriculture, was compelled to have some contacts with town life, but the other members of the farm family did not go to town with him. Now the whole family goes, and the younger members of the family go much oftener than does the farmer himself. In the growth of commercial agriculture, the town has become a necessary and recognized part of rural economy. It always has been a part of rural economy but until fairly recently the farmer has not recognized this fact. The increase in transportation and communication facilities has made it easy and inviting for him and his family to use the social facilities of the town.

The town is now the trading center of the farmer. Until recently it has been his mail and high-school center. It is his banking center, and is growing more and more to be his recreational, social, and religious center. Many of the crude manu-

facturing, refining, and shop processes, which were earlier carried out on the farm, are now carried on in towns or in large cities and the products distributed back to the farm through the small town. The small town is universally the assembling point for mobilizing farm products for shipment. The development of these activities and processes in town and city has had two outstanding results—it has increased the proportion of our national population living in urban centers and it has increased the contacts between town and country people.

Town and Country Population.—In 1800, there were only five cities in the United States with populations of more than 10,000 inhabitants. These cities contained less than 4 per cent of our national population. In 1920, cities of this size, or larger, contained 42.2 per cent of all the people living in the United States. According to the United States Census report of 1920, 51.4 per cent of our national population lived in urban places. This report includes among the rural population all the inhabitants of towns of 2,500 population and less. If these small towns are classified as urban, we then find that 59.9 per cent of our people are living in cities and towns. If unincorporated village centers were to be included, it would be discovered that more than 60 per cent of the American people are living in the urban centers.

There are four states, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, whose urban populations are more than 75 per cent of their total populations. Rhode Island and Massachusetts combined have over 95 per cent of all their population living in cities. There are almost twice as many people living in greater New York City today as there were in the whole United States, not including the Indians, when Washington was first elected president. Almost one-seventh of all the people of the United States live in eight great cities: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Boston, and Baltimore.

The urban population has not only increased more rapidly than the rural population but the larger urban centers have increased more rapidly than the smaller urban centers. Thousands of small urban centers have actually lost population in

the last two decades, and as Professor John Gillette points out, the smaller the town the greater the probability of loss.[1] There has been going on, for a number of decades, a steady urbanization of our national population. Farmers and their children have been leaving the rural districts for the city. Rural contacts with village centers have been increasing and the farmer's relations, directly or through the smaller centers, have been increasing with the greater urban centers.

The Farmers' Town.—The facts related in the previous sections of this chapter show conditions which raise a number of problems for rural life. The small rural town exists only because it is needed by the modern farmer in his work and his life. It is the economic and often the social center of his activities. There is today no such thing as a rural community without its town. The little town exists primarily as a trade center for the agricultural population. From seven- to nine-tenths of its volume of business develops out of rural needs. It survives only on the basis of the service it can render to agriculture and agricultural people. Numerous examples of its failures to survive when it was not aptly located to serve these needs are available. If it has the transportation facilities for country uses, it becomes a necessity for the farmer. If it lacks these facilities, it can not survive in and of itself.[2] The decadence or mortality of rural towns which grew up before railroads were constructed has been chiefly, if not wholly, due to the fact that many of the towns were inland and so were no longer good service agencies for agriculture.[3] The value of the little town to agriculture is indexed by the very great number of them in America. As H. P. Douglas says, "All countrymen support about as many little towns as they can."[4]

Of course they do, just as they support as many auto-

[1] Gillette, J. M., *Rural Sociology,* pp. 460-474, The Macmillan Company, 1922.

[2] Vogt, P. L., *Introduction to Rural Sociology,* p. 359, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1917.

[3] Andrews, C. M., *Colonial Folkways, The Chronicles of America Series,* Vol. IX, Chap. II, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1919.

[4] Douglas, H. P., *The Little Town,* p. 28, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.

mobiles or trucks as they can, or purchase as many acres of land as they can pay for and cultivate. The frequency of the little town depends upon two things—the prosperity of the agricultural community and the presence of railroad facilities; and railroad facilities, in the long run, depend upon the agricultural prosperity of the communities which they serve. The little town is scarcely more than a thickly settled and more specialized area of the rural community. Many of its economic enterprises, such as grain elevators, cooperative creameries and cheese factories, banks, and even sometimes stores are owned or partly owned by farmers. Looked at from any viewpoint, the little town has evolved as a necessary part of the rural community. In this sense it belongs to agriculture and to the agriculturist.

URBAN RURAL CONFLICTS

What the Conflicts Are.—Notwithstanding the mutuality of interest between the small town and the open country, and the essential integrity of the rural community which includes both, there has developed a great deal of suspicion and even open animosity between the farmer and the trades people. The countryman thinks the townsman is "selfish" and the townsman thinks the countryman is a "rube." The townsman thinks the countryman is unbusiness-like and the countryman thinks the townsman is lazy. The countryman believes that the townsman robs him in prices and the townsman thinks that the countryman is too parsimonious. The existence of such beliefs and feelings has at times created serious conflicts and has caused cleavages between these two elements of the community which threatened, in extreme cases, to end in physical violence. In the Middle West where the Granger Movement had its greatest development and where the Nonpartisan League and other independent political movements have been most prevalent, the open conflict has been most pronounced. In the South where the town merchant quite universally finances the farmer a year at a time, and is often the landlord of many whom he supplies with goods and credit, the

conflict is not so openly expressed. It is possible, however, that under such conditions the attitude of suspicion and feeling of injustice is much more universal and it is quite certain that the cleavage between these two classes is much greater.

The average farmer looks upon the small town as bad or evil. He does not desire his sons to frequent the town too often. It has been the home of the saloon, the pool hall, the public dance hall, the house of ill-fame, and above all is a place to squander money. His attitude is often so pronounced on the matter that he would almost consent to its complete annihilation. The townsman, on the other hand, has quite often failed to see that the existence of a prosperous and contented farm population is essential to his prosperity and even to his existence and survival. These attitudes are inimical both to town and country and have created a social atmosphere that must be dispelled before the larger community, discussed in the last chapter, can be created or developed.

Why the Conflicts Exist.—Some indication has been given as to why and how conflicts have developed between countrymen and townsmen. A clear knowledge of the causes of the conflicts would eliminate most of them. Conflicts usually develop either out of competition or misunderstandings, or both. Recent cooperative undertakings on the part of farm groups have brought the matter of competition clearly to the fore. The comparative isolation of the past has made misunderstandings, or at least failure to understand, easy. The following facts are given as the causes of urban-rural conflicts.

Differences in occupations automatically create different modes of thinking. The training necessary to carry on an occupation successfully demands that it have pretty much its own technique of operation, its own standard and measurement of efficiency and success, and its own type of mind. The farmer's training has come to him by such a slow and easy process of apprenticeship that he scarcely realizes that his aptness as a farmer depends to any extent upon training. He, therefore, fails to appreciate the fact that skill and aptitude are necessary to operate a grocery or a hardware store. This fact has been demonstrated quite tragically in the

case of farmer's cooperative enterprises that have failed because of the poor management furnished them by farm managers. Because the farmer does not appreciate the training and the skill necessary to conduct even a small store successfully, he discounts the worth of the village storekeeper and objects to the profits that he makes. Furthermore, the farmer for generations has had to deal very little in prices and profits. His criteria of success have been the successful conduct of a practically self-sufficient farm through the cycle of one year at a time and one year after another. He has produced on his own farm a large proportion of the goods which have gone into his standard of living, and has handled comparatively little money. This small amount of money has naturally gone a long way and he, therefore, thinks that the man who handles much money is growing unduly rich at the expense of the farmer with whom he deals.

The city man, on the other hand, trained in price and market operation, used to paying for everything, and selling everything which he handles on an accounting basis, does not appreciate either the parsimony of the farmer or his suspicion of all price dealings. Furthermore, not knowing the great amount of skill which the farmer must have successfully to operate a farm, and being used to altogether different criteria of crafts, he greatly discounts the ability and even the mentality of the farmer. The failure of these two differently occupied men to understand each the worth of the other is probably the greatest cause of mutual distrust and lack of appreciation.

Differences in standards of living between urban and rural people are, while very real, even more apparent than real. The country person sees the short working hours, the cleaner clothes, the better homes, schools, and churches of the city; sees the city person enjoy the facilities of electric lights, sidewalks, municipal water, and sewer systems; observes city children idle or at play; and knows that most of these opportunities and facilities are not his to enjoy. He, therefore, rebels against his condition and either by some peculiar psychology of his own, or by imputing it to the injustice of economic distribution, holds the city inhabitant responsible for

the differences. The city person, on the other hand, sees the farmer living without these facilities, and imputes to him a lack of urbanity, civility, and culture. This provokes the farmer even more than his own lack of facilities and so assists in creating mutual misunderstanding, distrust and even conflict.

City attitudes held by town people often lead them to class themselves as thoroughgoing urbanites, whereas, in fact, their mode of life is much more like that of the people of the adjacent country districts than it is like that of metropolitan centers. In even a small town there are people of various occupations and professions and, therefore, a cosmopolitanism which does not exist in the open country. The little town reaches down to the farmer with one hand and up to the city with the other. The countryman can avail himself only of the contacts of his own people and those of the little town. The townsman is conscious of these advantages, looks upon them as a part of all cities, whether great or small, and as cultural opportunities which country people neither have nor appreciate. He, therefore, considers himself urban, civil, polite, cosmopolitan, and even metropolitan. These attitudes he freely displays to country people, particularly in social affairs, and by so doing contributes nothing by way of mutual understanding and social facility.

The concentration of wealth in cities has resulted more or less naturally from the concentration of economic and industrial processes there. This wealth in the cities is in the hands of comparatively few families, but these are the very families with whom the farmer deals—the bankers, merchants, and traders—and it is their homes and their social status that catch his attention and imagination. This magnifies his conviction that the city is robbing the country and that urban people very little appreciate the difficulties of his labors or the handicaps of his conditions of living. His conviction that these people are an index to a great economic injustice may be perfectly justifiable but the city manual laborers and wage workers share the handicaps of life with him and so place the issue on a different plane than urban-rural differences.

The existence of industrial groups, even in small towns, sometimes introduces an element into city population which is related to agriculture only remotely. These processes and the people engaged in them widen the differences between town and country people and town and country interests and thereby lessen the "consciousness of kind" which exists in towns devoid of these elements.

The purely commercial interests of some small trading centers make of them anomalies in rural life. The rural community has not practiced commercialism to any considerable degree until recently, and any agency or institution that lives by commercial criteria alone impresses it as greedy and even immoral. The rural community may have had comparatively poor institutional facilities but all of its institutions and the values which they represent have been woven deeply into rural people's lives. The pure trade attitude and the dominance of trade values to the exclusion of all other values, "rub the farmer the wrong way," and cause him to discount the tradesman along with his interests and criteria of values.

The economic influences of more removed urban centers which are reflected in the business practices of the small townsman often force him into attitudes and unwelcome relationships with his farmer constituents. The farmer has for many years believed that "Wall Street" is his arch enemy. This belief is largely due to his failure to understand the place and operation of Wall Street in the business world, but this name is, nevertheless, an index to real forces which operate in the relation of town and country dealers to the detriment of mutual understanding and harmony between them. The "agricultural paper" of the farmer is discounted in the larger city banks; the standardized wholesale prices, and often the designated retail prices, of the city manufacturers are relayed down to the farmer. The town business man is forced into standardized business practices with his overhead city wholesaler and banker, and he naturally has a tendency to carry these practices down to his dealings with the farmer. The farmer does not conduct his own affairs or his business relations with his neighbors in this fashion, and so resents being forced into

these relations with his merchant and his banker. Furthermore, there is little doubt that many country merchants and bankers have used overhead city pressure as an excuse for increasing their own profits and exploiting the farmer who does not know the facts in the case.

A growing class consciousness on the part of farm people has resulted from a belief in the differences between themselves and city people. This class consciousness has been magnified by an increasing knowledge of the common interests of farm people and the part that farming and farm people play in world economy. The result has been an attempt on their part to take over many of the commercial functions which they believe have been manipulated by others to their detriment. In the organization of such enterprises, discussion of their "plight" has become widespread and sometimes extremely bitter. Professional, or at least overly ardent, agitators have fed the flames of discontent and graphically pictured the differences between the economic and social status of city and country people. Out of these agitations grew the "Free Soil," "Populist," and "Independent" parties, and the Non-partisan League, in which the farmers have participated heavily. City populations and city vested interests have belittled practically all cooperative efforts on the part of farmers and have often struck back viciously at their attempts to enter the commercial and political arenas. These attitudes and activities on the part of city peoples and city interests have deeply embittered many farmers and although they have failed in many of their commercial and political undertakings, they retain a suspicion and a resentment of city ways more marked than have resulted from any other cause we have described.

URBAN AND RURAL COOPERATION

Unconscious Cooperation.—That the city and the rural populations are both essential to our national economy is patent. That the small town and the farmer are a unit in this

economy is just as patent a fact to the person who lives in a great metropolitan center. Such a person looks at these two groups as one. It is all just the "country" to him. For purposes of civic improvement, the small town must, as an incorporated area, act independently. For the sake of an adequate country life or an efficient little town the two must work together. As H. P. Douglas says in his book, "The Little Town:"

> The little town is the primary trade center. The town's country is the area which trades with it; which makes common cause with it in buying and selling, in credit and transportation facilities. Its typical functionaries are the retail merchant, the middleman—who takes the farmer's produce and turns it over to the city for consumption—the banker, the postmaster, and the railway and express agents. The town's country is the area which comes to it for play, education, and worship. Here are the country's moving pictures, its baseball diamonds, and its Chautauquas. The little town is the farmer's school of fashion and of social propriety. The more radically the little town adopts the independent point of view, the more adequately may it return later to a comprehension of its chief task: namely, the service of the open country on which it depends. After all, this is its largest task. The material (and sound) fortunes of the little town and the open country are identical; their achievements should be common. To fulfil its reasonable service the little town must appreciate and love the country.[1]

When Mr. Douglas speaks of the little town becoming independent, he is speaking of independence in relation to larger urban centers and urban attitudes.

The little town cannot arbitrarily become the center of an agricultural community, nor can the agricultural population arbitrarily choose some town as a center for all its economic and social activities. Institutions, agencies, and relationships of long standing, on the part of both town and country, have developed which will persist in the face of all needs for ideal community relationships. Churches, schools, country stores,

[1] Quoted from HAYES, A. W., "Some Factors in Town and Country Relationships," *Research Bulletin,* Tulane University, New Orleans Louisiana; DOUGLAS, H. P., *The Little Town,* pp. 10, 53, and 54.

small towns, and large cities will compete with the most ideally located and perfectly equipped rural town. Manufacturers, national trade associations, and overhead church organizations will persist in influencing adversely the location and practices of many of the institutions and service agencies which under an ideal arrangement would adjust themselves perfectly to a well-ordered and organized rural community and its town center. These matters, like all social adjustments, must work themselves out by experiment, elimination, and survival.

Just how thoroughgoing the unconscious cooperation of the country and the rural town is has been demonstrated by a number of recent studies of town and country relationship. These relationships have grown up and become institutionalized in rural communities. The town comes to be the center for service agencies for the surrounding country. It furnishes agencies in varying degrees—buying, selling, financing, education, religion, recreation, and social associations. The order in which these functions center in the town are, *first* and most universally, finance; *second,* selling; *third,* buying; *fourth,* recreation; *fifth,* education, particularly high school education; *sixth,* religion; and *seventh,* practical social association.[1] Where the town is too small it fails to supply all of these services and is, therefore, less a center of the community than where it does provide all of them. Where it is large enough to take on metropolitan ways, and thus to develop these services primarily for its own industrial, business, and professional population, it loses, at least relatively, its capacity to be a service center for farmers.[2] In the case of the town that is too small, below 1,000 in population, for instance, the country people find it necessary to go beyond it to larger urban centers to satisfy many of their needs. Where it is too large, 15,000

[1] See Hayes, A. W., "Some Factors in Town and Country Relations," *Research Bulletin,* Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Kolb, J. H., "Service Relations of Town and Country," *Research Bulletin* No. 58; and "Rural Primary Groups," *Research Bulletin* No. 51, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Zimmerman, C. C., and Taylor, Carl C., "Rural Organization," *Bulletin* No. 245, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, North Carolina; Galpin, C. J., "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *Research Bulletin,* No. 34.

[2] This, of course, varies with different sections of the country.

to 20,000 in population, although it is thoroughly equipped with service agencies, the country people are too much in the minority and so construct their social institutions in the open country or smaller urban centers. Professor Hayes says:

> . . . As we descend from the small city to the cross-roads store, we find the farmer figuring more and more in the make-up of the town, in both its business and social life; but, while he gains in interest and in numbers he loses in opportunities for the higher choices and standards available, and in the diversity of institutions. The substance of it all is, the farmer feels "at home" in the small centers and does not in the city.[1]

In Louisiana, Professor Hayes found that the social relationships of town and country people were much more prevalent in a town of 500 population, which he studied, than they were in the three towns of over 3,000 population which he studied. In Wisconsin, Professor Kolb found that, while "nearness" was given as the most universal cause that farmers gave for their contacts with any given town rather than some other, it is the town between 2,500 and 3,000 population that constitutes the most apt center of service agencies for the surrounding country. In some of the most prosperous agricultural areas of the Middle West, towns of 4,000 and 5,000 population are undoubtedly the most universally used and the most universally recognized service and social centers of the agricultural community. In New England many larger cities furnish the facilities. In some of the negro and tenant-populated areas of the South the much smaller towns serve these classes and the larger towns serve the land owners.

The points we are attempting to emphasize in this section are that the rural town has unconsciously become an integral and functioning part of the rural community, and that in each area of the nation there is a type of rural town that best serves the farmers as an economic and social center. It is, furthermore, quite surely true that a reintegration of rural-urban relationships is gradually working its way out which will establish the most aptly located and better equipped towns as

[1] *Ibid,* p. 44.

the service and social centers of rural communities and minimize, or possibly ultimately completely eliminate, many smaller urban centers now in existence. This will have to be a matter of unconscious adjustment and survival, for the institutionalization of old relationships will not give way just yet to a consciously planned arrangement.

The Need for Planned Cooperation.—The frictions and conflicts between townsmen and countrymen have been a good while in developing. The consciousness of the mutuality of their interests and a technique of cooperation will also probably come slowly. We have seen that these things exist already to a considerable degree. They can and should be consciously encouraged and developed. Chambers of Commerce and civic clubs should recognize the farmer as a member of the business and civic community which they represent and seek to serve. The farmer often furnishes the majority of the volume of business done in the small town. He and his business interests should be represented in and served by these organizations. Various attempts have been made to accomplish this fact, but only very limited success has been achieved as yet. Too often the chamber of commerce is little more than a "Related Merchants Association," concerned chiefly with credit rating, closing hours, and price fixing. A broader view of its place in the community would lead it to see that the life and prosperity of business in a rural town depend upon the prosperity of the farmers, and would thus lead it into a knowledge of the need for farmer representation in its membership. In the towns studied by Hayes, in Louisiana, he found that the city of Alexandria, a city of 20,000 population, with a membership in its Chamber of Commerce of 552, had only twelve farmer members, although this organization has conducted a definite campaign for farmer membership. Alexandria is one of the nationally known small cities because of its attempt to vision the agricultural area as part of the community which it serves. The Rotary Club with a membership of ninety has no farmers and the Kiwanis Club with a membership of sixty has only two farmer members. The Oakdale Chamber of Commerce with 142 members has only one farmer member.

This town of 8,000 population has no active program of cooperation with rural interest, although the Chamber of Commerce does foster boys' and girls' club work and agricultural fairs.[1]

In cooperative enterprises, whether corporate or purely cooperative, the rural town can well afford to take a sympathetic and helpful attitude. In Denmark, where agricultural cooperation has been developing for seventy years, the towns have learned that it is not essential that the middlemen and the farmers be completely separate groups. The townspeople at first bitterly opposed the establishment of farmers' cooperative enterprises in the towns, sometimes even refusing them the right to locate within the town limit.[2] Now, in a number of Denmark towns, the banks, stores, manufacturing, wholesale and retail businesses are operated by the farmers, and the towns are more prosperous than they formerly were. The bitterest opposition to farmers' cooperative marketing in America has often come from their own townspeople. Farmer stockholders in town stores, banks, and other business enterprises would do much to eliminate the mutual distrust of town and country people. It has done so in numerous rural towns of America.

The establishment of rural institutions in the smaller towns is desirable from many points of view. The public service facilities, water, light, and sewage equipment are then available. The coming and going of rural children and their constant mingling with young people who live in the town create a subtle confidence that is very difficult to establish in pure trade relationships. Kolb found, in Wisconsin, in answer to the question, "Where does the farmer prefer to have his social institutions located?" that the young people's preference for the town greatly exceeded that of the older people. In all cases he found that the preference for town location of the church and school was from two to three times that for country location. Before the school can be located in the town

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Faber, H., *Cooperation in Denmark Agriculture,* pp. 55-70, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1918.

center, however, there must be developed, on the part of both the town and the country people, a willingness to enlarge the school district to include the country area which it should serve. At the present time the farmer often objects to having his property listed in such a district because of the higher tax rate and his children are, therefore, admitted to the town high school only on the courtesy of the town school board, often by paying a prescribed tuition fee.

Making the Town a Part of the Rural Life Movement.—Even national leaders of rural life movements have failed to give due consideration to the place of the rural town in the rural community. Up to the present time the small town has been a sort of "no man's land." It is not recognized by the great urban centers as belonging to them, and it is not recognized by rural people as belonging to them. The big city is right in its attitude, but the rural people are wrong in theirs. The rural town now is, and always has been, a part of the rural community. It is time to recognize the fact and definitely plan its place, function, and life as a part of the social structure of every rural community.

THE RURAL TOWN ITSELF

As a Social Entity.—The small town, classified by the federal census as a part of the rural population, has a corporate entity of its own. In a discussion of rural welfare and rural efficiency, it has a right to consideration. It will, in many ways, serve its own interests best by serving the interest of the farming enterprise and the rural life about it, but it must also be interested in its own body, mind, and soul. Small towns have been built, in a great many instances, because they are thought to be better places in which to live than the open country. Are they? Too often the town has paid little attention to putting itself in a position to answer this question in the affirmative. It is an incorporated place with legal power to develop the kind of life it wants. Many rural towns, however, are more interested in becoming industrial centers than they are in becoming wholesome residential places. Their

chambers of commerce and civic clubs strive to locate factories and mills within their borders, and by so doing often introduce into their midst people and problems that they are ill equipped to care for. Real estate enthusiasts boom the town to its own future detriment. The mortality of business, recreational, and social enterprises in small towns is tragic and chiefly due to overwrought enthusiasm for size or to the absence of planning for a common civic life.

A small town must provide all the institutions and agencies essential to supplying the elements in its standard of living. It, therefore, has as a part of its life all the problems connected with food supplies, housing, health, education, religion, recreation, and social contacts. In addition to providing these things for its own residents, it is the custodian and trustee of these institutions and agencies while they perform their functions for others. It is not our purpose to discuss in detail the social structure, social agencies, and social problems of the rural town but only to give a brief picture of its outstanding problems.

The Town's Houses.—With all the lack of housing facilities of the open country and all the congestion of large cities, neither of these works for good housing under such great handicaps as do many small towns. This is particularly true when the town is too small and too poor to provide public utilities to furnish adequate sewage, sludge and garbage disposal facilities, or a municipal water supply. Fire protection is very poor in the small villages, and opportunities for conflagrations more plentiful than in the open country. The small town practically never has a housing code, and persons are, therefore, allowed to live in any sort of a residence without legal restrictions or supervision. Residences are often in conjunction with places of business, stores, garages, and the like, which not only crowd the family into narrow quarters but restrict the yard space. In the case of the house-garage combination there is a great danger of fire. There are no restrictions on the keeping of poultry and livestock on the small-town premises. This offers an occasion for the accumulation of filth, and the breeding of flies and disease germs. Many

small-town residences are not owned by the people who live in them, and are allowed to fall into disrepair by those who own them because of little likelihood that they will ever be valuable properties. The fact that the small town is more than likely static or decreasing in population offers little incentive for the improvement of residential property. As a whole, the very small town home has all of the disadvantages of the country isolated residence with none of its advantages of space and absence of menace of other residences.

The Town's Health and Sanitation.—The sanitary conditions of a rural town have a double significance—a significance for the people who live in the town and a significance for the people who trade in the town. Milk and other foods are distributed from common centers, and provisions for sanitation and cleanliness are often inadequate for handling these supplies. If the town has a municipal water supply, it is a possible source of insanitation and diseases. Slaughter yards, dumping grounds, or other civic nuisances are very prevalent in small towns. The open privy, the open sewer, and the cesspool are common. Many times, private residences provide themselves water from surface wells. If a stream or a railroad passes through the town, it becomes a place for the dumping of old cans which contain decaying vegetable matters, the stream often being converted into an open sewer. Typhoid, diarrhœa, and dysentery are largely spread by polluted water. The town's alleys are universally rubbish-accumulating places. Disease-spreading insects are plentiful for two reasons; they find apt breeding grounds, and the greater number of people offer a greater number of human hosts to carry them. Horse manure and other animal débris accumulate because of the presence of many animals in the town. As H. P. Douglas says:

> The sanitation of the open country was bad enough, but the little town without the country's habits and without the city's remedies may easily be the most dangerous place of all.

The Town's Morals.—To quote Mr. Douglas again, there are two quite universal opinions about the little town, namely:

"The little town is ugly and the little town is bad." Or, to quote another common saying, "God made the open country; man made the great city; but the devil made the little town." The little town is not a neighborhood, nor is it a metropolitan center. It, therefore, lacks the stern ethics and morals of the country neighborhood and lacks the laws, police regulation, and constructive social agencies of the great city. Town children are not under as close parental supervision as country children are, and they do not have chores and helpful family and farm tasks to consume their idle time. The result is that play often degenerates into marauding and even vice. The average rural village has its "hangers on," in the way of idle or semi-idle people, who frequent common meeting places and are anything but constructive elements in the town's mental and social life. Social status is more clearly marked in small towns than in the open country and the opportunities for developing invidious attitudes and false values of human worth are plentiful. The joker, the cheap show, the street carnival, and other traveling recreational and social parasites frequent the rural town. The tramp, the vagrant, the hoodlum, the prostitute, and the petty thief find lodgement in the town "lock-up" and become objects of morbid curiosity and idle talk. Unless carefully guarded against, some "hold-out" becomes a place for petty gambling, drinking, and indecent conversation. The small town need not always be bad but the opportunities for evil are there, and in the absence of constructive social agencies are likely to develop into reality.

The Town Eyesores.—We have already mentioned the dump heap, the open sewer, the alley, and the privy. To these should be added unsightly billboards, tumble-down buildings, uncleaned and unorganized streets, barren school yards, churchyards and court-house yards, railroad entrances, and the open spaces allowed to grow up in weeds. The little town need not be ugly, but in the absence of town planning and civic organization its opportunities to be unsightly often develop into real ugliness.

Town Planning.—If the country town were converted into a civic and social center for the whole agricultural community

of which it is a part, it might easily be not only more prosperous but more beautiful, more constructively organized, and better managed. It might also develop a degree of pride and self-respect which it can never obtain so long as it is "No man's land." What it needs is a consciousness of its civic entity and of its economic and social functions. If it were to be planned and managed as the social center of the agricultural community, its rural constituents would no longer look upon it as an anomaly in their midst. It would be the home of their school, church, park, and playground—the capital of their community. A community planning commission would eliminate the eyesores. A set of civic clubs and organizations would eliminate its insanitary and immoral elements, and a consciousness of its economic and social worthiness would make of it a well-organized and ordered element in the social structure of the rural community.

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CHAPTER XX

THE FARMER AND HIS GOVERNMENT

FARMERS AND POLITICAL ACTION

Why We Have no Agrarian Party in the United States.—There is no institution which influences the average man and in which he participates constantly, of which he is less conscious than the institution of government. For this reason, people who take a lively interest in other major activities of life quite universally neglect larger civic issues. This is more true in the United States than in the older nations of Western civilization. So far as the farming class is concerned, it is more true of the United States than it is of Canada. We have no recognized agrarian political party in the United States. It is doubtful whether we yet have a class-conscious agrarian group which is of any representative magnitude. For this reason, American farmers, as a class, do not have the clear-cut political influence they do in some other countries.

In practically our whole national political history, party alignment has been based upon a bi-party system. Blocs, representing major economic, religious, or other classes, have never become a part of our scheme of political competition. We have no hereditary social classes. Our population is, and practically always has been, heterogeneous. Our occupational groups have been in flux. Our whole body of economic, social, and political tradition has been based upon a philosophy of competition, equality, and individual independence. We have not thought, until very recently, of a labor group, a scholastic group, or an agrarian group. The natural result is that farmers, like practically all others of our citizenry, have followed old political loyalties rather than created a political class group of their own.

Tendencies toward Agrarian Politics.—Although we do not

have and never have had, an agrarian political party in the United States, the farmers of the nation, several times in our national history, have made their demands and influences felt by means of direct organized political activity. The Grange, the Agricultural Wheel, and the Farmers' Alliance influenced state and national legislation mightily during the early seventies, late eighties, and early nineties. The Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, the Non-Partisan League, and the Farm-Labor party since 1900 have wielded considerable, though spasmodic, political influence in a number of states, and even in the nation. There has probably never been a time in our national life when the farmers' voice has been more eagerly and earnestly listened to than just now. The last two presidents of the United States have appointed Agricultural Commissions to study agrarian problems and recommend agrarian policies. A number of large farmer organizations have national legislative representatives and legislative committees constantly at work. Since 1920, Congress has passed a great number of acts which have sought to offer aid and assistance to the agricultural interests. Presidents, governors, and national and state legislators make agricultural planks a part of their platforms. A number of farm organizations have recently demanded and accomplished appointment or election of "dirt farmers" on government boards.

A recent, rather detailed, study of farmers in politics indicates a tendency, consciously or unconsciously, for farmers to show some unanimity in political attitudes and activities.[1] This study shows a definite correlation between political insurgency and dominant ruralism. All of the eighteen states except three, which in this study are classed as insurgents, are among the thirty-three whose population at the time of the 1920 census enumeration was 50 per cent or more rural.[2]

In Pennsylvania, in 1922, Governor Pinchot received his strongest support from the farmer sections of the state. His previous connection with rural interest was no doubt a con-

[1] Rice, S. A., *Farmers and Workers in American Politics, Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law,* Vol., CIII, No. 2 (whole number 253) Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1924.

[2] *Ibid,* pp., 50-51

tributing cause of this fact. In the state of Washington, in 1920, the farmers joined with other progressive groups in a united political program. In Wisconsin, in 1920, the Non-Partisan League and Society of Equity, both chiefly farmer organizations, threw their strength to Governor Blaine. The Blaine proportion of the total vote was 29 per cent in the Republican primary, but was 38.8 per cent for the unincorporated areas of the state. In Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor party has elected two United States' senators. Here again the unincorporated (rural) areas gave Shipstead 57.4 per cent of vote in 1922, whereas his proportion for the whole state was only 45.5 per cent. Political campaigns and elections in North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, and Nebraska, for the period from 1919 to 1922, show the same tendency on the part of the farmers to cast their votes for farmer causes and candidates with considerable unanimity.[1]

Outstanding Examples of Farmers' Organized Political Activity.—There have been times in the American history when the farmers have arisen to such heights of political agitation as to constitute state and national political upheavals. Outstanding examples are the Granger era of the early seventies, the Populist Movement of the late eighties and early nineties, the Non-Partisan League of the second half of the last decade, the Farm Bloc of 1921 and the Farmer-Labor groups since 1920. The Grange was the first of these in time. The Farmers' Alliance was the greatest in membership magnitude, and its political concomitant—the Populist party—was the greatest in political magnitude.

The Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) was organized in 1867 as a farmers' fraternal organization. It gained very little headway until 1871 when it took a severe economic turn. From this direction it went rapidly into politics. Between 1872 and 1875, the Grangers became the dominant political influence in a half-dozen states. They elected a large enough per cent of the state legislatives in Illinois and Iowa to control the general assemblies of those two states. This farmers' organization threw its influence behind the Reform, Independent,

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 150-175.

and Anti-monopoly parties in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri, California, and Oregon. The Grangers, through these parties or otherwise, elected legislators, governors, and other state officers. In the state of Illinois, they defeated a chief justice who had declared some granger legislation unconstitutional, and elected in his stead a judge who they believed would be sympathetic with the program which they were attempting to write into law.[1]

There were some thirty outstanding political issues which the Grange sponsored in the various states or in the nation at large. Some of these were purely local and comparatively trivial. Others were of deepest concern to the enterprise of farming and to the well-being of the rural population. Outstanding among the issues of serious rural significance were, regulation of the railroads, establishing of state boards of agriculture, ample appropriations for state colleges of agriculture, compulsory education, development of water transportation, establishment of a Federal Bureau of Agriculture, improvement of the weather bureau, national regulation of weights and measures, and commercial treaties which would open world markets for agricultural products. By no means all of the issues and policies raised and fostered by the Grangers resulted in legislative accomplishment. The data are presented here chiefly to show that the farmers did organize for a half decade sufficiently effectually to wield political influence and accomplish some political results.

The Farmers' Alliance created a greater political upheaval in some ways than did the Grange. By combining three large farmers' organizations, the Texas Farmers Alliance, The Louisiana Farmers Union, and The Arkansas Agricultural Wheel, and working in political harmony with the Northwestern Alliance, it swept into its ranks probably three million farmers. This consolidated rural constituency was, in a number of states, the heart of the Populist Movement of the late eighties and early nineties. The Populist party, in 1896, was far from being merely an agrarian party but it and its fore-

[1] Buck, S., *The Granger Movement,* Chaps. IV, V, and VI, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1913.

runners were widely supported by the farmers. The Union-Labor ticket, in 1888, received its chief support from Mid-Western states.[1] The People's party, in 1892, received almost the unanimous support of both the Southern Alliance and Northwestern Alliance. "Sockless" Jerry Simpson and W. A. Peffer, Kansas farmers, were sent to Congress. In a number of Southern states the farmers literally took over the Democratic party machinery. In other Southern and some Mid-Western states they fused with the minority party. In a few of the Mid-western and Western states they formed Independent parties. In the 1896 presidental campaign, large elements of all these political forces came together on the "Free silver" issue and went down to defeat, and practical extinction with it.

The Farmers' Alliance, like the Grange, by its constitution, forbid partisan political activity by its organized membership or even partisan political discussion in its meetings. But like the Grange also it wielded a wide, though temporary, influence in state and national politics. It passed resolutions definitely stating its platform. It made specific "demands" of state and national legislatures. It circulated questionnaires among candidates in order to ascertain before election day where those offering themselves for office stood on the issues with which the Alliance was concerned. In some states, the Alliance organized for political action quite directly and placed Alliance members on the fusion or Populist tickets and elected them to office.

Probably the best known, because the most recent, political upheaval caused by organized farmers, is the Non-Partisan League. It arose in North Dakota, in 1915, was avowedly political in its purposes, and in less than six months after its organization had a membership of 20,000. Before its decline it was organized in thirteen states and had a membership of almost 235,000 farmers. It operated upon the basis of a definite, paid membership and non-partisan platform. Its plan of operation was to select candidates who would promise

[1] Buck, S., *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 127, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1921.

to support farm measures and to throw its political strength into the election in behalf of these men. In the fall of 1916, it elected eighty-one of the one hundred and sixteen members to the lower house and eighteen of the twenty-two senators in North Dakota. At that same election it elected the governor and all other state officials except one. In the election of 1918 it elected its entire ticket.[1] The League wielded an influence in other states.

The Farmer-Labor party is the most recent definitely organized political effort on the part of farmers. It is a collation between farmers and industrial workers, and thus is not a purely agrarian political organization. On the other hand, the farmer-labor vote by no means represented all of the agrarian vote, which was more or less unified in the national election of 1924. The Farmer-Labor party, as a national force has never risen to any particular significance. Like the Non-Partisan League, it centered in the middle Northwest. It placed a presidental candidate in the field of 1920. He polled 265,411 popular votes but no electoral votes that year. In 1924, considerable attempt was made to mobilize the discontent of the farmers under the banner of the Farmer-Labor party. This was not accomplished. Instead, the forces scattered, and later mobilized to some extent under the La Follette banner. The La Follette support was by no means all agrarian. In a great majority of the states where the vote for his electors was of any appreciable magnitude, however, it was agrarian. There were fourteen states in which more than 20 per cent of the total vote was cast for the La Follette electors. Eleven of these states are dominantly rural, having from 51 to 79 per cent of their population living in the open country or in towns of 2,500 population or less. Table 58 gives the itemized facts for these fourteen states:

The Farmers and National Political Parties.—There has never been what could be considered a farmers' political party in the United States. From what has already been said, how-

[1] Gaston, H. E., *The Non-Partisan League,* Harcourt, Brace and Howe Company; Bruce, A. A., *The Non-Partisan League,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921.

TABLE 58.—STATES IN WHICH MORE THAN 20 PER CENT OF THE POPULAR VOTE WAS CAST FOR LA FOLLETTE ELECTORS IN 1924[1]

State	Per Cent of Total Vote	Per Cent of States Population that is Radical
Arizona	23.3	78.3
California	33.1	32.0[2]
Colorado	20.4	51.8
Idaho	36.2	72.4
Illinois	21.1	32.1
Iowa	28.1	53.6
Montana	37.6	68.7
Nebraska	23.0	68.7
Nevada	36.4	80.3
Oregon	24.3	50.1
Utah	20.8	52.0
Washington	35.7	44.8
Wisconsin	53.8	52.7
Wyoming	21.6	70.5

ever, it is apparent that large blocs of farmers have, at different periods in our national life, thrown their support to some party which they thought represented their viewpoints and would fight for their causes. Since no one of these parties has ever been a purely Agrarian party, however, it is not possible to calculate just what portion of their strength came from their farmer constituency and what portion from other constituencies. Table 59 lists the parties to which a goodly number of farmers have attached themselves in the last seventy-five years:

It should not be assumed from a study of the table just given, that these were agrarian parties. The table is presented to show the recurrent tendency for farmers to attain a slight degree of political unity. The Greenback party, from 1876 to 1884, did, without question, catch considerable of the farm constituency which had been represented in the independent parties of the Granger era. The People's party, from 1892 to 1908, was more represented by Farmers' Alliance influence

[1] *World Almanac* 1926, p. 816, *New York World*, New York, 1926.
[2] Tied up with Socialist ticket.

TABLE 59.—FARMERS' PARTIES REPRESENTED IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS BETWEEN 1848 AND 1924[1]

Presidental Election Year	Party	Per Cent of Total Popular Votes
1848	Free Soil	10.1
1852	Free Soil	4.9
1856	There is no evidence that the farmers rallied in special membership to the "Know Nothing party"	
1860		
1864		
1868		
1872	Labor Reform	.39
1876	Greenback	.97
1800	Greenback	3.3
1884	Greenback and Anti-Monopoly	1.5
1888	Union-Labor	1.3
1892	Peoples	8.5
1896	Peoples-Democrat	48.4
1900	Peoples	.36
1904	Peoples	.85
1908	Peoples	.19
1912		
1916		
1920	Farmer-Labor	1.0
1924	Independent, etc. (La Follette Group)	13.1

than any other, and the La Follette strength was more or less a national culmination of the Non-Partisan League and Farmer-Labor party influence. Whether there is slowly developing a tendency on the part of American farmers to political unity it would be hard to predict. Certain it is that, for the last few years, they have shown a more marked bent to independent voting than any other occupational group in America. The United Farmers of British Columbia, Canada, have gone further than mere independent voting. They have placed their candidates in the field, elected them, set up their farmer government, and thus have been recognized by themselves and others as an agrarian political group. In a number of

[1]The easiest source from which to get a short survey of these parties and their platforms is the *World Almanac* for 1924.

European countries there are clearly defined agrarian political parties. It is possible that the final breakdown of our two party systems in the United States will come at the hands of the farmers. The sporadic display of farmers voting with some degree of unity of purpose a number of times in the past, and the marked tendency to independent voting at the present give some grounds for believing that this may be the case.

THE FARMER AND HIS GOVERNMENT

How the Farmers Influence Federal Government.—The influence of the farmers of the nation in the federal government and the service of the federal government to them is not to be measured by the numbers of farmers who hold federal offices or who sit in Congress. Very few farmers are elected to Congress or to federal offices. Farmers, however, like all other citizens, cast their votes for those who hold federal elective offices. Furthermore, national government comes more and more to be a register of public opinion rather than a clash of personalities. The fact, therefore, that real farmers do not hold federal offices is no sign that their interests are not, or at least cannot, be well cared for in national government. Organization, education, and cooperation have placed the farmer in a position to make his wants known and his voice heard in Washington. With the exception of such sporadic political upheavals as were portrayed in the preceding section, farmers have for the most part been an isolated, occupational-minded group. They have plodded along with their daily tasks of farm work, often chafing under what they thought to be injustices, but with no knowledge or power to resist. Gradually they have learned something of both election politics and methods of legislation. The results are that large and representative farmers' organizations now wield considerable political influences in elections and almost universally have legislative programs which they push vigorously.

The Grange and the Alliance each claim credit for a number of concrete accomplishments in national politics. Whether their total claims are justified or not, they undoubtedly wielded

considerable influence in getting the United States Department of Agriculture represented in the President's cabinet. They influenced railroad legislation and were probably the first to start the agitation which resulted in the establishing of the Interstate Commerce Commission. They furnished the organized propaganda for the Rural Free Delivery. Their agitation for the alienation of lands probably had some influence in getting a changed policy for handling the Public Domain. In addition to these and other organized political endeavors, the farmers have recently come to be a larger factor in making public opinion than they have been for a century. They meet in their local, district, state, and national farm organization meetings and constantly discuss social, economic, and political issues. They appoint legislative committees and persistently push their claims in Congress and even carry them directly to the President.

The "Farm Bloc" was organized at the Washington headquarters of the American Farm Bureau Federation. On May 9, 1921, twelve senators and twelve representatives, all representing farmer constituencies, met there to decide on a program for immediate action. It later came to include twenty-two senators and probably three times that many Representatives. They at first organized themselves into four major committees, one on Transportation, one on the Federal Reserve Act, one on Commodity Financing, and one on Miscellaneous Agricultural Bills. This organization was for the purpose of getting direct and immediate action on "farm relief measures." Senator Capper describes their program as including about the following purposes:

1. A complete rural credit organization to provide farmers and stockmen with an adequate financial system.
2. Reduction of railway freight rates and the report of Section 15A of the Esch-Cummins law which gives the Interstate Commerce Commission control over interstate rates; also the repeal of other objectionable sections of that law.
3. Legislation to establish a better system for marketing farm products.
4. Legislation to turn Muscle Shoals over to Henry Ford.

5. Tax undistributed surpluses and stock dividends.
6. Stop the further issue of tax-exempt securities.[1]

These were all in response to direct demands from organized farmers, who had met together by the thousands and discussed these things more or less intelligently and often at their regular farm-organization meetings.

The National Board of Farm Organizations, in 1920, sent out a series of questions to ascertain the positions of candidates on matters which the farmers in these organizations were convinced needed governmental action. The questions were as follows:

1. Will you do your best to bring about such direct dealing between producer and consumer as will secure to the farmers a fair share of the wealth they create, reduce the cost of living to the consumer, and limit or destroy the opportunity of the profiteer?
2. Will you do all that in you lies to secure to all farmers and consumers the full, free, and unquestioned right to organize and to purchase and sell cooperatively?
3. Will you see that the farm people of America are represented on general boards and commissions in whose membership various interests are recognized, whether or not the work is directly concerned with agriculture?
4. Will you appoint a Secretary of Agriculture who knows actual farm conditions, who is satisfactory to the farm organizations of America, and who will cause to be made comprehensive studies of farm production costs at home and abroad, and publish the uncensored facts?
5. Will you take the action necessary to ascertain and make public all obtainable facts concerning the great and growing evil of farm tenancy, so that steps may be taken to check, reduce, or end it?
6. Will you do your best to secure improved personal and commodity credit facilities on reasonable terms, for farmers?
7. Will you earnestly endeavor to secure to cooperative organizations of farmers engaged in interstate commerce, service and supplies equal in all respects to those furnished private enterprises under like circumstances?

[1] Capper, A., *The Agricultural Bloc,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922.

8. The railroads have been returned to their owners. If at the end of two years of further trial of private ownership the railroads fail to render reasonably satisfactory service to the people, will you then favor re-opening the railroad question?

9. Will you use your best efforts to secure the payment of the war debt chiefly through a highly graduated income tax or, otherwise by those best able to pay?

10. Will you earnestly strive to uphold and enforce the national conservation policy, and especially to stop forest devastation, which has already more than doubled the price of lumber and paper to the consumer?

11. Will you do your best to secure and enforce effective national control over the packers and other great interstate combinations of capital engaged in the manufacture, transportation, or distribution of food and other farm products and farmers' supplies?

12. Will you respect, and earnestly strive to maintain the right of free speech, free press, and free assembly?

These examples are presented not so much to show what the farmers demand as to show the different direct methods by which farmers are coming to influence national politics and national legislation and thus to participate in the federal government. With their tendencies toward independent political organization, increased, enlightened, and almost universal organization, in one way or another they are gradually coming into a position where they can and will be well represented in the organization and conduct of national government.

How the Federal Government Aids Agriculture.—The extent to which the federal government assists agriculture, to some persons' minds, constitutes an injustice to other industries and other classes of people. It is not an injustice for the federal government to assist agriculture in a special way, for agriculture is more basic than any other industry and the whole citizenry benefits from agricultural production and agricultural efficiency.

Farmers, and many so-called leaders of farmers, do not recognize or possibly do not know to what extent the federal government aids agriculture. For this reason their attitudes toward federal taxes and their criticisms of "centralized government" are both unjust and unintelligent. The farmer,

if for no other reason than because his enterprise and he himself are aided by the federal government, ought to be an enlightened national citizen.

The first Morrill Act, providing for a college of agriculture and mechanical arts in each state, was passed in 1862. This act provided for the granting to each state of 30,000 acres of land, excluding mineral lands, for each senator and representative in the respective states.

The second Morrill Act was passed in 1890. This act provided an additional income of $25,000 to each state. In 1907, the Nelson Amendment was passed, which increased this to a maximum of $50,000. In 1887, Congress passed the Hatch Act, which provided an agricultural experiment station in each state, and provided an annual appropriation of $15,000 for the support of each of these institutions. The Adams Act of 1906 increased this annual appropriation to $30,000 for each station, and the Purnell Act of 1925 sets out a program which, if met by annual congressional appropriations, will, by 1929, increase these funds to $90,000 for each state agricultural experiment station.

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 made provisions for agricultural extension work by each state college of agriculture. The maximum annual federal appropriation of this law amounts $4,580,000. This full appropriation was reached by graduated degrees beginning with $480,000 in 1914 and reaching the maximum in 1922. It provides an average of $97,500 per state from the federal treasury.

The Smith-Hughes Act was passed in 1917. It reached its maximum federal appropriation of $3,000,000, in 1926, which sum is now appropriated annually. This is an average per state of $62,541.66.

The total annual sum appropriated from the federal treasury by 1929, under the provisions of the various acts, if appropriations are made to meet the provisions of the Purnell Act, will be $15,960,000 in addition to the return from the original land grants. By the provisions of the various acts these funds are not divided equally among the states. If they were, it would be $332,708.33 per state. As it is, those states

that are both populous and dominantly rural receive twice this amount.

The United States Department of Agriculture exists for no other purpose than that of assisting the farm enterprise. It is composed of sixteen bureaus, has an annual appropriation from Congress of about $30,000,000, and employs 23,000 persons. In addition to the United States Department of Agriculture, the Department of Interior has large agricultural functions, and the Department of Commerce renders much service to the farm enterprise.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is claimed by certain farm organizations as having come into existence through their influence. In its dealing with transportation rates, it touches the farmer in various ways. The Federal Trade Commission has investigated a number of industrial and commercial combinations which farmers have thought were practicing discrimination of one kind or another against them. The Federal Reserve Board with the federal farm loan and intermediate bank functions is a servant of the farmer.

The Farmer and State Government.—State government is considerably more personally controlled directly by the people than is the federal government. It is not so much that public opinion plays a lesser rôle in state government but that the representatives elected by the people play relatively a much greater rôle. Until 1916, United States Senators were not elected by the direct vote of the people. State legislative officers always have been elected by popular vote. There are only ninety-six United States Senators and 435 United States Representatives. The same people who elect these 531 legislators to make the federal laws, elect about 2,400 state senators and 5,000 state representatives to make state laws. Because a very much larger number of voters personally know the state legislators, state government can and must respond much more directly to the personal demands of its constituency.

No one seems to have been able to ascertain just what per cent of the state legislators are farmers by occupation. The evidence is sufficient, however, to indicate that a greater per cent of state than United States legislators are farmers. This

means, of course, a very much greater total number of farmer legislators because of the increased number of these offices to be filled. It is questionable whether more than four or five United States Senators have a right to classify themselves as farmers. Many of them may own land, and thus indirectly operate farms, but they also operate other enterprises and follow other professions. On the other hand, in the state of Ohio, 14.1 per cent, and in Iowa 35.2 per cent, of the total general legislative assemblies are farmers.[1] The per cent of farmers in the lower house in each of these states greatly exceeds that in the upper house. This is apparently due to the fact that the total number of representatives is greater than that of senators, usually averaging about one representative to each county. Thus the individual who runs for office is quite personally known to those who elect him to office.

The writer has attempted to obtain statistics from all the states on these items, but has been unable to do so. From what facts he has gathered it is his calculation that about 15 per cent of the state legislators are farmers by occupation. The percentage ranges much higher than this in the Midwestern, Northwestern and Southern states but considerably lower than this in the New England and Northeastern States.

Practically every method used by the farmers to influence legislation, described in the section on federal government, is used also to influence state government. The efforts are usually more effectual in state than in national government. Many state representatives are elected by almost purely rural constituencies. In thirty states a majority of the population is rural. In these states, all state officials find it necessary to respond directly to farm interests and farmer demands.

The state governments do not maintain as many agricultural service agencies as does the federal government. Most of them have state departments of agriculture. All of them have state agricultural colleges. Many of them have departments of conservation and a few of them have colonization and settlement boards. South Dakota and Minnesota have rural

[1] Vogt, P. L., *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, 230 pp., D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1925.

credit bureaus. In a few states the school system is a state system. State road systems are becoming rapidly established. In Pennsylvania, New York, and South Carolina there are state rural police systems. All in all, however, the farm constituency is not so directly served by state agencies as it is by state legislation passed directly in favor of farm interests and in local legislation which is passed by the state legislatures.

The Farmer and Local Government.—County government comes nearer being farmer controlled and operated than any other unit of government in the United States. It grew up in the South in direct response to rural conditions which made impossible or impracticable the New England form of local government. It spread throughout the nation with its agricultural expansion. It furnishes almost all of the governmental machinery with which the farmer deals directly. Even much of the administration of state and federal governments comes to the farmer through the agency of county government. Its usual functions are, to care for the poor, to maintain a system of public roads and bridges, to maintain the public peace, to keep records of property transfers, to provide for the administration of justice, to maintain educational standards of the schools of the county, to probate wills, to provide and maintain a court house, jail, and other public buildings, to administer tax machinery, and to provide for elections. These are the chief day-by-day and year-by-year governmental functions with which the farmer deals. In actual practice, therefore, the county is his most used unit of government.

The governing body of the county in those states which have no township organization, is usually called the "board of county commissioners," consisting of from three to five members elected at large. In states that have the mixed township-county government this body is called the "board of supervisors," its members being elected by the townships, one from each. Farmers probably more universally hold these offices than any other political offices in the United States. In the states where these offices are distributed by townships, the large majority of them must necessarily be held by farmers because of the absence of urban centers in a great many town-

ships. In states where this geographic distribution is not required by law, the practicability of having the different areas of the county represented generally serves to fill these offices with persons from outlying areas—that is, with farmers.

Most counties in the United States still maintain a long list of elective offices. They probably average at least ten elective offices in addition to the county commissioners or supervisors At least half of those are usually filled by farmers.

In addition to the elected officials, there have recently been added to the list of county officials or employees a number of others who perform various expert services. The county farm and home demonstration agents, county health officers, and county welfare officers are chiefly servants of the farm population of the county. The county surveyor, or engineer, has his chief duties to perform in areas that lie outside incorporated places.

It is a criticism of rural political enlightenment and concern to say that county government is probably the weakest link in our whole set of governmental machinery, but such is quite universally admitted to be the case. The county government has no head, such as a governor or president. It has altogether too many elective officers. It chooses the officers on the basis of national party allegiance, which is of no concern or meaning in local affairs. It seldom has a uniform or systematic type of accounts. It has no adequate rural police force, and little rural sanitary or health supervision. It is quite universally short of funds because it is supported by property taxes and the assessments or valuations are kept down. Its elective officers change often, and usually the more substantial citizens refuse to leave their occupations or professions for the sake of political offices which carry no greater distinctions than those of a county official.

Tendencies toward Strengthening Rural Local Government.—There is a slow-growing sentiment in favor of the short ballot in county government. The Los Angeles and Alameda charters, in California, provide for commission forms of government. In Massachusetts, four of the officers usually elected in other states are appointed. In Connecticut, the

sheriff is appointed. In some of the other New England states the superior judges are appointed for life, the sheriff is elected for five years, the district attorney is appointed by the superior court, the probate judge and the auditor are appointed by the governor. In some other states, certain county officers, such as the sheriff, are removable by the state. Cook County, Illinois, has a president. New Jersey and South Carolina have but one county supervisor in each county. The coroner is appointed in the New England States and California. It is possible that this tendency to shorten the ballot may soon result in a commission form of county government or even a manager form of government. If such a movement were to become current there would probably result the same gains in efficiency which have taken place in city government in the last fifteen years.

There is a growing tendency for the smaller units of rural government to give way to larger units of control. District school units are giving way to consolidated or township units. County units of taxation, control, and supervision are growing rapidly in comparison with township units. In a number of states even the state government, by school equalization funds, certification of teachers, and state courses of study is coming to set the educational standard and policy for the counties. Road districts are gradually evolving from local and township, to county and state systems. The county and home demonstration agents, and the health and public welfare officers are quite universally, at least partially, controlled by overhead state agencies. State laws are enacted for the control of cattle tick, and bovine tuberculosis eradication, game protection, stream pollution, road speed limits, and similar measures. The more apt means of transportation and communication are making desirable, and even necessary, larger units of control and supervision. With these larger units almost universally goes a great efficiency and better service.

There are also growing tendencies to making local government conform to local and practicable community functions. Dr. Douglas lists eight such specific tendencies:[1]

[1] Douglas, H. P., "Recent Legislation Facilitating Rural Community Organization," *in proceedings,* Third National Country Life Association, pp. 117-126, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1920.

These are as follows:

1. Legislation permitting rural areas defined by community self-consciousness to incorporate for the performance of all essential civic functions, that is, to become municipal units doing essentially all a town can do. Example: the North Carolina Rural Township Incorporation Law.

2. Legislation permitting the establishment of school districts, covering areas defined by community self-consciousness and irrespective of local political boundaries or previous educational units. Examples: the "community" high and consolidated schools of Illinois; similar laws in Kansas, Nebraska, and Washington; the rural agricultural school law of Michigan.

3. Legislation permitting or fostering the establishment of rural community councils, community centers, and buildings. Examples: the Michigan and Wisconsin laws.

4. Legislation providing means of overcoming the arbitrary limits of counties or minor local government units in the support of community governmental functions. Examples: school laws of Michigan, Arkansas, California.

5. Legislation implying a zone system of taxation for the support of different functions within a given community. Example: a great body of laws creating "special districts" of various sorts.

6. Legislation providing for cooperation between local governments and local voluntary agencies of civic importance. Example: Indiana (Chap. 206, Acts of 1919). This provides that towns of 1,000 or more people may "accept, maintain, operate, improve, or cooperate with private associations or individuals in maintaining, etc., auditoriums, recreation buildings, and grounds;" and provides for levying a tax.

7. Legislation involving the identification of natural communities and their relationships, over larger contiguous areas. Examples: The Nebraska State Rural School Redistricting Law.

8. Legislation allowing options between a variety of local governmental agencies in carrying out community measures. Example: the Michigan Community Council Law.

The Universal increase in the region of law, the coming of the farm enterprise into the commercial world, and the rapid increase in the farmer's social contacts are all serving to make it more essential that he participate in political and governmental activities and that he call upon the various units of

government which serve him to respond more directly to the demand of his economic and social needs.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FARM LIFE

THE INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FARMER

The Influence of the Occupation of Farming upon the Personality of the Farmer.—In the great fundamentals of human nature, the farmer is not unlike all other persons. He has the same senses with which to gain experience. He has the same instincts and about the same impulses as all others. Even so, he is different from all other occupational types of persons. Persons are in behavior or conduct what they most habitually do. The farmer farms. He does not preach, teach, practice law or medicine, sail the seas, or mine coal. He is a farmer in action and thought. He does much manual labor, works chiefly with things and not with people, works chiefly with living and growing things, and not with machines. He adjusts his whole program of work to the coming and going of the seasons and to the precariousness of the weather. He works much of the time in comparative solitude. He lives, and works, and spends much of his leisure time at home. All of these things become a part of both his unconscious and conscious scheme of life. They make him what he is.

Occupations furnish our most habitual modes of activity, and our modes of activity dictate our patterns of thought. This is true because, in most cases, a person's occupation is his dominant interest, and his interests are the springboards for his thoughts and attitudes. In the case of an occupation that comes as near being culturally inherited as farming is, the attitudes which arise out of the occupation are passed down from generation to generation and become fixed. Children are trained, both consciously and unconsciously, to accept the traditional attitudes of the occupational group.

There is a vast difference between the person whose chief

adjustments are to other persons and the person whose chief adjustments are to inanimate or non-conscious things. In the case of human adjustments, there is constant reciprocity of stimulus and response. In the case of adjustments to inanimate things, there is either mastery or slavery. The farmer is master of certain elements in his physical environment and slave to others, and the psychology of neither master nor slave is typically human. The farmer may say he loves his dairy cows or hates the mud, but in neither case is there the same passion in the tone of his feelings as there would be if these emotions arose out of a social situation and referred to other human beings. Personality is sometimes said to be built out of reflections from other persons' lives, or to be a self, into which are woven the contacts and influences of other personalities. This is largely true, but it is not the whole truth, for personality also reflects the influences of the physical world in which one works. The body and mind, subjected to the constant play of any influence, come to react in an habitual way to that influence. The old farmer in Eugene O'Neill's play, *"Desire under the Elms,"* who has spent his life in battling the stony fields of a New England hill farm is made to say, "I'm lonely. I'm hard. God's lonely, God's hard."

In *The Growth of the Soil,* Hamsun brings the description of Isak, the old Margrave, to a close in the following lines:

> Isak at his sowing; a stump of a man, a barge of a man to look at nothing more. Clad in homespun-wool from his own sheep, boots from the hide of his own cows and calves. Sowing—and he walks religiously bareheaded to that work; his head is bald just at the very top, but all the rest of him shamefully hairy; a fan, a wheel of hair and beard, stands out from his face. 'Tis Isak, the Margrave.
>
> A tiller of the ground, body and soul; a worker of the land without respite, a ghost risen out of the past to point the future, a man from the earliest days of cultivation. A settler in the wilds, nine hundred years old, and withal a man of the day.[1]

[1] Hamsun, Knut, *The Growth of the Soil,* pp. 151 and 152, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922.

These two pieces of art depict in striking forms the influences of the forces that play constantly upon the personality of man who farms. It is not that the farmer has no social contacts or that persons in other occupations and professions do not have to make adjustments to the stern elements and forces of physical nature. It is only that a much larger per cent of the farmer's acts and thoughts have, and must have, to do with adjustments to these stern forces.

Dr. C. J. Galpin gives a vivid picture of the contest of the farmer with the forces of physical nature in the following lines:

> The farmer in act is the tiller of the soil. He is the man, hoe in hand, with bent back, striking a blow at the weakest point in the earth's crust, pulling upward, loosening the earth's grip upon a portion of the soil, lifting it for a moment, and finally turning it upon its face. This momentary, mechanical victory is repeated, clod by clod, yard by yard, hour after hour, day after day all thru the season of soil preparation. Unremittingly looking his earth antagonist in the eye, the land-worker gives and takes—gives his blows and takes the after-effects into his own body and soul.[1]

The farmer is different from the professional man or salesman, because he deals chiefly with physical situations and not with social situations. He is different from the machine worker or industrial worker, because many of the things with which he deals are living things. Plants and animals are not like power-driven machines whose monotonous and clock-like routine must be met with such precision and constancy as to make the man an absolute slave of machine speed and motion. Plants and animals are organisms that respond to care and nurture, that live, and grow, and die. Animal pets have played a part in the lives of all known people. They are almost a part of human society. Certainly they and their care become a part of the personality of the farmer. As a dairyman friend of the writer is wont to say, "The first requisite of a good dairyman is that when he looks a dairy cow in the face, he loves her." It is more than probable that some of the food taboos of the ancient Hebrews and the present day Hindus

[1] Galpin, C. J., *Rural Life*, p. 4, The Century Co., New York, 1918.

had their origins in the influence of animal pets whose presence and life characteristics literally constituted them a part of the tribal sentiments. Some oriental peoples, with long centuries of agricultural traditions woven into their lives, regard even plant life with a marked reverence.[1]

Not only has husbandry, as a habit of mind and a sentiment, developed out of the handling of plants and animals, but it is more than likely that animism did also. The mysteries of the propagation and growth of organic life are things only recently and only partially understood. The mystery and marvel of a species of grain that will bring forth an hundred fold is something to ponder. Especially is this true when the destiny of a man and all who depend upon him is cast upon a faith in the working of the miracle. It is not surprising, therefore, that farmers are slow to substitute quantitative science and the cold calculation of business for their naïve trust in the scheme of nature and for their animistic theories of nature.

The Influence of Weather, Climate, and Seasons upon Rural Attitudes.—The average city occupation is very little influenced by the precarious forces of physical nature. The weather is shut out by factory walls and roofs. The climate and seasons are made or modified by artificial heat and electric fans. Even the sun's light is dispensed with as an essential element for working hours. Furthermore, the immediate earning capacity of a city worker is not cast into jeopardy by the precariousness of forces which lie beyond human control. To quote another vivid picture from Dr. C. J. Galpin:

> Climatic forces, operating through the atmosphere envelope—heat, light, moisture, cold, frost, ice—all are the farmer's friendly allies when timely, but his inveterate foes when ill-timed or excessive. An excessive dryness increases the strain in plowing and seeding and cultivating. Excessive moisture makes mud in the path of his transportation and doubles every ascent. In the seasons when the climatic forces are in flux, when the moods of the air are fickle, in spring and fall, rural life is under the special strain of uncertainty, risk, danger, and economic disaster. Many

[1] Rihbany, A. M., *The Syrian Christ,* p. 25, Houghton, Mifflin, Company, New York, 1922.

a load becomes stationary. Many a plan is unfulfilled. Many a sudden shift about of farm work finds new inertia to be overcome. For every smile of springtime that cheers the countryman's lot, there comes inevitably an undeserved frown. The impetuous and wholly irrational whims of weather educate the rural mind to caution, if not suspicion, in receiving the advance of friendly forces.[1]

The presence of numerous weather superstitions and signs in farm practices, and the tendency of rural conversation to drift to talk about seasons and weather are not due solely to lack of social contacts. That is the negative aspect of these phenomena. The positive aspect is the tremendous part that seasons and weather play in rural destiny. The helplessness of the farmer, in the face of forces that lie beyond his control, has led to resignation and even to a high degree of fatalism in his attitudes and convictions. The primitive religious belief that "whatever is to be will be" has broken down much more rapidly in city life than in country life. Such beliefs are handicaps, even sometimes inhibitions to modern methods of calculating results in terms of known causes and effects. R. W. Williams makes the point that no small part of the reason for the farmer's slow acceptance of business criteria in production is, that, not being sure of results, he has been led to emphasize "industrious working," and not economic returns, as his measure of value.[2] Williams believes, further, that the farmer's attitude of resignation has made him an easy prey of landlords and business men. Farmers have conceived the processes of the business world much as they have those of nature, as incalculable, and emphasized mere industriousness instead of shrewd dealing with shrewd men.[3]

The author has assembled 467 different superstitions and signs which are known, and to some extent believed, in rural communities. The majority of them, 54.9 per cent, have reference to climate, weather, plants, and animals. Over one-fourth, 27.8 per cent, have reference to climate and weather.

[1] Galpin, C. J., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11-12.
[2] Williams, R. W., *Our Rural Heritage*, p. 35, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 37.

The point is not that superstitions, signs and charms are more prevalent among rural people than among urban people, though such is probably the case, but only that the enterprise of farming is so influenced by the precariousness of the weather that specious explanations of its cause and effect have become current in rural life.

The Influence of Isolation upon Personality.—The farm home is an isolated residence. The farm family is a comparatively isolated social unit. The farmer himself spends thousands of hours working in solitude. He dictates his own day's stint and makes his own choice of activity. He builds his thinking out of his own individual experience to a much greater extent than does the man who works in a gang or under a boss. Furthermore, because he has been compelled to make his own adjustments and reach his own conclusions, these things become finally fixed as a part of his personality. Because he works in solitude, he is meditative. His ideas are not mere working hypotheses, they are philosophies. His solitude shields him or robs him of a competition or conflict of ideas. No fellow workman breaks his meditation or challenges his day dream. He, therefore, develops deep convictions which cannot be shaken quickly or easily. Very few of his mental adjustments are made on the basis of conference with other persons. Even when he and his problems are subject to conference he usually prefers to take the ideas home where he can think them over and make up his own mind.

Very little is known about the absolute influence of isolation, and, because what is known is concerning extreme or abnormal cases, it is difficult to calculate, or even to guess, the significance of the farmer's relative lack of human contacts. A few cases of persons who have lived for years out of all human contacts are known and have been studied. In all of these cases the persons have grown to maturity without developing many of the habits, attitudes, and even physical adjustments which children learn in the first few years of their lives.[1] Prisoners kept in solitary confinement suffer distor-

[1] See Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 239-243, on feral men, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1921.

tion of attitudes, disintegration of mind, and drastic changes in their whole personalities. They become self-conscious, suspicious, emotional, and even anti-social in attitudes.[1] The isolation of the farmer is not so extreme as either of the types just mentioned. But from childhood to old age he lacks thousands of contacts which are a part of the average city person's social environment. He is therefore more stable, staunch, or stolid than the city person.

The Thought Processes of Farm Life.—As has been noted, farmers have always lived in relative isolation. This was more true yesterday than it is today. They have always been individuals operating in a markedly independent fashion. They have, therefore, been compelled to solve their problems and conduct their enterprises out of that stock of experience which they themselves have had, or which their fathers have handed down to them. The fact that this stock of experience has been in existence for a long while and has been tested many times, gives it a standing as a body of operating techniques which many other occupational groups do not possess. The farmer is not subjected to the forces of social change which are continually upsetting old ideas in other walks of life. Tannenbaum says:

> Change is the very life of industry today. New methods, new processes, new inventions, new markets, new fashions, new fads, new discoveries and organization characterize the greater part of the industrial world. Every change means a change for somebody. Insecurity is the dominant fact in the lives of every class in the community; no one escapes it.[2]

Tannenbaum concludes his picture of the insecurity of our modern industrial life by contrasting it with the life of the medieval serf who, though poor and bound to the land, nevertheless, had safety and security. He had his little piece of land, his own house, a few animals and a consciousness that no boss would fire him. The American farm tenant does not

[1] Bogardus, E. S., *Fundamentals of Social Psychology,* p. 92, The Century Co., New York, 1924.

[2] Tannenbaum, F., The Labor Movement, Chap. I., G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1921.

enjoy the degree of security which the European serf did. But the American land owner-operator enjoys even a greater state of security.

The independence and security of the farmer has given him a traditional attitude of independence, and his individual entrepreneurship has developed in him the habit of forming judgments of his own. There is probably nothing more characteristic of the American farmer than this habit of seemingly independent thinking. The effects of this mode or type of thinking have been both beneficial and detrimental to him and to society. It has given him a habit of mind which, when given the opportunity to connect up with the techniques of science, business, and politics, has made him a great factor in national leadership. On the other hand, it has been his greatest handicap when not connected with these systems and techniques. Since these systems have, until very recently, existed only in city life, he has contributed far more leaders to city and national life and to the solution of city and national problems than he has to rural life and to the solution of rural problems. His independence of thought and action has all too often manifested itself in mere individualism and lack of cooperation in relation to his own life and problems.

These facts, together with the fact that the farm with its few human contacts has not been a place of rapid change or many innovations, have also made of the farmers a conservative group. This characteristic of thought is also both beneficial and detrimental to the farmer and to society. It is a valuable thing, especially noticeable in times of stress, for a nation to have a great group of people—millions of them in the case of the American farmer—who refuse to lose their heads in times of crisis and who refuse to change their opinions under some slight provocation. On the other hand, many progressive and necessary pieces of state legislation have been defeated because the representatives of farmers, who live in extremely isolated rural districts, have all too well represented the farmer's aversion to change. The greatest detriment, however, of this conservatism is that it has registered itself in the farmer's influence upon his own community, his own institu-

tions, and even in his own occupation. It has served, in some cases, so thoroughly to preserve old ways of doing and thinking as to forbid the substitution of scientific farming for traditional and even "sign" farming; to perpetuate the inefficient one-room school house; to maintain traditional religious ideas with their forbidding restraints and lack of appeal to young life; and to refuse to allow the introduction of modern things in rural communities, which young people, especially, have come to desire because they have learned that they exist elsewhere.

The conditions and processes under which farmers have labored in the past have resulted in at least two general attitudes of mind: the farmer has always been conservative, and has always been individualistic. These characteristics have been natural results of his isolation, his lack of corporate enterprise and, until recently, the failure of science to penetrate into his occupation.

The farmer is probably a deeper thinker than any other man who does the same amount of manual labor that he does. This is due to a number of causes, some of which have been mentioned in other connections. In the first place, his contact—often struggle—with nature, which buffets him and beats him down at times and at other times yields him gifts far beyond the fruits of his own effort, is his constantly to study. The fact that he fails to generalize concerning these things, or in any subtle way to analyze them, does not obviate their influence upon him. He does ponder them. He is compelled to make adjustments to them, to use them, to live year in and year out with them as his partners or opponents. He may seek to explain them through signs, to mitigate them through propitiation, or to use them according to the best methods of modern scientific farming. In any case, he is in a different process than the man who feeds a factory machine, fills a grocery order, or delivers a load of coal. He is dealing with nature, not machines. His adjustments are to the great forces and cycles of nature as much or more than they are to man. It is because of these facts that he is a different, if not a deeper, thinker than any other man who

works with his hands. It is not a violent assumption to say that men do not think except when compelled to do so. The city manual laborer's daily and hourly routine is so absolutely set and dictated by mechanical devices that he is seldom urged to think. The farmer's daily and hourly routine is liable to change, to be broken into, at any time. What he shall do at these many points depends upon his own judgment. He does not sit down and wait until the foreman or some one far up the line of a chain of machines straightens out the trouble. He must act for himself; he must use his own judgment; he must think. When we turn to the skilled professions of the city—the practice of medicine, the practice of law, preaching, teaching or business—the necessity for thinking becomes not only greater than in the factory but, without doubt, greater than on the farm.

Furthermore, outside the daily work routine, there is a constant change in general city life which is not present on the farm. The city is a place of change, a place of fads and fashions. Millions of dollars spent in advertisements, electric signs, street bawlers, show windows, and what not in the city play as stimuli upon the city dweller. These things are, for the most part, absent from the farm environment. The effects of these differences of environment are reflected not only in the farmer's every-day life but in his constant and purposeful attitudes toward life. He is not used to these subtle and fictitious stimulations and changes, and, therefore, does not believe in them. He does not follow these fads and fashions, therefore, he not only thinks they are wasteful, but *wicked*. His attention is not bid for in terms of constant expenditure of money and continuous desire to escape work and seek pleasure. He does not seek change for the sake of change.

It is not argued that all city persons spend all their time catering to these influences, and that rural persons react violently and adversely to all these things. These great universal differences, however, do constitute two sets of constant influences in the life of these two groups. Some of the effects upon the farmer are to be found in his conservatism—

absence of habits and thoughts of change—his belief in the rightness and righteousness of his work, his belief in the sacred duty to save, his condemnation of show and conspicuous waste. These attitudes constitute him a person with a serious purpose in life—one upon whom we can depend to preserve the integrity of our social institutions, one whose general attitudes toward his own life, his family's life, and in fact toward all life, is so stable that he contributes a great moral force in our social life. From his homes and communities come men and women in great numbers who, in the future as in the past, will furnish us some of the greatest leaders in all phases of our social life.

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE

The General Lack of Group Technique in Rural Life.—The self-sufficient farm has been an individual, or at most a family, enterprise. Farm work is not, for the most part, conducted by gang labor. It is not conducted on the basis of a plan into which it must fit as one of many divisions of labor. It is not planned nor carried out by conference. The large majority of American farms are one-man or two-men enterprises. Most of the occasions when the farmer becomes a member of a face-to-face group of greater size than his own family are formal. He goes to church, to the Chautauqua, or to lectures where his part is that of a spectator and listener. He is a member of few discussion groups. Rural gatherings, in which discussion or debate has taken place, have not in the past had as their objectives the reaching of group conclusions. They have been for pleasure and recreation. They have, therefore, contributed very little, if anything, to developing group or cooperative activities and attitudes.

The farmer's group enterprises are highly institutionalized. His church service and even his church beliefs are set for him by custom and tradition. His school is operated by a paid expert. He is not highly conscious of the pressure of government, or else it appears to him to be operated from some far-off source. His family is about the only group in which

the individual participates in any wholehearted, personal way. Even the family is subjected to a more traditionally autocratic régime in which the parents, most often the father, play a more dominant rôle than is the case in city life.

The American farmer is an individualist in practice and ideas, and individualism is inimical to group concepts and group technique. The extreme individualist fails to give and take, and thus fails to become a part of group thinking. He neither cares to lead nor is willing to follow. In his own family he is willing to rule. But he grants every other head of a family that same privilege. The long history of pioneer life, the whole system of individual farm enterprise, and the individual scheme of isolated farm residences have contributed a technique of action and thought which presents a severe handicap to cooperative or group action among farmers. Furthermore, farming is largely learned by apprenticeship. The beginning farmer depends neither upon a scientific blue print nor upon originality. He simply seems to imbibe his knowledge from no one but himself.

The Processes of Socialization and Culturalization Are Slow in Rural Society.—The farmer has always been short on means of communication. News and new ideas reach him later than they do the city person. They are disseminated slowly throughout the rural community, once they do arrive there. They run athwart many customs and modes of thinking that are deeply set in the minds of rural people. Social life and culture are both dependent upon communication. Man alone has culture. We do not mean culture in the sense of refinement of manners, but in the sense of traditions, sentiments, and mores. Farmers participate in all of these socio-psychological currents. But because of their lack of social contacts and few and relatively inapt means of communication, these currents travel more slowly in rural communities than elsewhere.

Socialization involves the participation of the individual in the spirit, purpose, decisions, and actions of groups: [1]

[1] Burgess, E. W., *The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution,* p. 2, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1916.

It is the process whereby individuals unconsciously and consciously learn to act, feel, and think dependably together but not necessarily alike in behalf of human welfare outside their own.[1]

Farmers of the past have had few problems that demanded conferences. They have lived in isolation. They have not, as individuals, therefore, learned to act, feel, and think dependably together. E. S. Bogardus makes the point that it is by such dependable or habitual cooperative acting and thinking that those participating, experience a change involving an increasing degree of social self-control, of social responsibility, and of personal enrichment and expansion.[2] The farmer has, for the most part, been robbed of these experiences, and any rural program or project that is built upon the use of them suffers because of his lack of personal socialization. He has learned his occupational technique by apprenticeship and not by wholesale culture borrowing as has often been the case in industry.

Few if any rural face-to-face groups, other than the family, are "dependable." The family is more dominant in the life of the rural child than in the life of the city child. The family's contributions to the socialization of the individual are therefore fully made. Its techniques and attitudes, however, are not extended to other human relationships. Socialization involves one's attitude toward all persons and all groups. The farmer has no gangs, no trade unions, few fraternal organizations, practically no participating play groups, and does not, in his day-to-day life, come into contact with the heterogeneous and cosmopolitan masses of city life. It is no insult to him, therefore, to say that he is not highly socialized. He has not had from childhood to maturity the stimuli of play groups, close neighborhood life, and street contacts that are a part of the city person's life.

Culture is a core of ideas and beliefs which activates and unifies a people and in a large measure controls their career. It is their mode of life in both action and attitude. Culture is composed of numerous traits which altogether make up the

[1] Bogardus, E. S., *Op. Cit.*, p. 229.
[2] *Ibid.*

culture complex. A culture trait is a unit of action and thought, some one manner, means, or method of doing or thinking. A culture complex is a bundle of culture traits which have grown up and hang together, such as a system of agricultural production.[1] In American agriculture we have the corn belt and cotton belt. These areas are organized on the bases of culture complexes which hold the people within them, both the tillers of the soil and the business men of the areas, in line with customs and traditions of farming that are generations old. A culture once established stands its ground against the impact of new ideas. It seldom gives way in mass but generally by the slow infiltration of new culture traits. The more isolated a group of people is the stauncher does their old culture stand and the harder it is for a new culture trait to filter in. Because the American farmer lives in comparative isolation, his culture habitually lags behind that of the civilization of which he is a factor.

Culture traits are either invented, borrowed, or gained by conversion of two or more old modes of action and thought. All of these methods are handicapped in rural life. The gross, long-time adaptations to seasons, climate, gravitation, and the general reign of physical law, make invention of ideas difficult. The lack of subtle means of communication makes culture borrowing the exception to the rule. The convergence of two old types of culture is not likely because of the dominant reign of some one type over wide geographic areas. Furthermore, farming is so widely different from all other occupations and professions that the borrowing of culture ideas seldom is feasible. About the only examples of noticeable cultural changes in given rural areas are those cases where large areas have been rapidly peopled by foreign settlements or colonies.

Science and business, coming into agriculture, are exceptions to the rule just stated. These are systems of culture which have been developed almost altogether outside the field of agriculture. They are penetrating the occupation or enterprise of agriculture rapidly now. They are complexes or systems

[1] WISSLER, C., *Man and Culture*, pp. 1, 3, 49 and 50-52, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923.

which the farming class can borrow from others and, once having learned to use them, can make combinations of them, or inventions of their own. Both of these fields of action and thought have been seriously handicapped, however, by the inertia of culture which prevails in rural life.[1]

The Presence of Mass or Mob Psychology Is Slight in Rural Society.—Practically everything that has been described as a characteristic of the farmer's mind constitutes a prophylaxis to crowd, or mob, behavior. The farmer is individualistic, meditative, and independent minded. Crowds are fickle, suggestible, passionable. They operate in a gang or clique spirit. They follow leaders. The farmer is inept in all these things. Le Bon says a crowd is "subjected to the law of mental unity and forms a single being." [2]

Sidis states that "intensity of personality is in inverse proportion to the number of aggregated men"; that "cramping of voluntary movements sets the stage for mass or mob action." [3] The opportunities for either of these conditions among farmers are few. The farmer is not a man of the masses and his life is not lived in crowds. Copeland, in an analysis of buying motives, shows that the advertisers consider the farmer to be highly rationalistic in his buying activities. He classifies buying motives into the emotional and rational. Under the emotional motives he places buying for distinctiveness, for emulation, for economic emulation, for pride of personal appearance, for social achievement, for romance, for pleasing taste, for pleasure of recreation, for entertainment, and greater leisure. Under rational motives he places buying for handiness, for efficiency in operation and use, for dependability of quality, for durability, for enhancement of earnings, and for economy in use. His criterion of measurement is a comparison of the advertisements appearing in general magazines, women's magazines, and national weeklies with those appearing in farm

[1] Probably the best discussion of the development and borrowing of culture is to be found in THORNSTEN VEBLEN'S writings. See *The Instinct of Workmanship,* Chap.. III, and *Imperial Germany, The Industrial Revolution,* Chap V, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914-1915.

[2] LE BON, GUSTAVE, *The Crowd,* Chap. I, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1896.

[3] SIDIS, BORIS, *The Psychology of Suggestion,* Chap. XXVII, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1921.

papers. The appeal to rational motives was almost twice as frequent as the appeal to emotional motives among the advertisements appearing in farm papers. The reverse was true in the case of advertisements appearing in magazines and periodicals which made their chief appeals to city constituents.[1]

The country camp-meeting is about the only occasion upon which farmers are subjected to the conditions which make for crowd or mob behavior. On such occasions and under such conditions, they do succumb to emotionalism. Even then the process is slow. The time of meeting must be set when the farm work is slack. The meeting must be "protracted" and the farm community backward. Billy Sunday and similar evangelists no longer operate in the normal rural community. It is in the backward and ignorant rural community where the shouting and rolling demonstrations of primitive religions take place. Such phenomena are not to be explained so much by the "so-called psychology of the farmer," as they are by the persistence of old religious superstitions, and the failure of the farmer to connect up his otherwise stable and independent course of life and thought with his system of religious thought.

Fads, fancies, fashions, and crazes penetrate and spread in rural society more slowly than they do in city communities. Such phenomena are predicated by an aptitude to change and such the farmer does not have. In the first place, he does not hear of their existence for a long time after they have become current in city communities. In the second place, they have no apt channels over which to spread rapidly in rural areas. In the third place the farmer's temperament and attitude are against accepting them. Crazes and fads are things with transient lives. If they cannot spread quickly they do not spread at all. The few social gatherings and infrequent social contacts of the farmer fail to furnish them media by which to spread. Furthermore, practically all the "work attitudes" and "religious attitudes" of the rural community taboo these displays of fickleness.

[1] Copeland, M. T. *Principles of Merchandising,* Chap. VI, A. W. Shaw Company, New York, 1925.

THE FARMER AND THE PUBLIC MIND

The Farmer and the Public.—The public is usually thought of as being, in some vague way or other, all society. Publics, however, would better be thought of as those groups which are wider in scope than face-to-face associations and less crystallized in nature than institutions. As E. S. Bogardus says:

> The public is a quasi-temporary group. It lacks the structure and prescribed limits of a permanent group, and the face-to-face or bodily presence characteristic of assemblies or crowds.
>
> The rise of the public came about as a result of the modern development in means of communication, such as the invention of the printing press, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the radio. Consequently, individuals can feel, think, and even act alike, without coming together either as crowds or assemblies.[1]

To what extent and in what ways are farmers members of publics? The fact that all means of communication are fewer in rural than urban communities sets conditions which keep farmers from being members of as many different publics or from being as thoroughgoing members of any public as many urban persons are. Furthermore the dominant reign of one institution—the home—in the life of the farmer, and the severe influence of his occupation upon his time and attention keep him from developing that frame of mind essential to becoming a member of numerous publics.

Publics are sometimes fickle, approaching crowds in emotionalism and transcience of attitudes. The rural population furnishes a constant stabilizing element at times when war psychology, financial depressions, or other landslides in public opinion are imminent. There are times when it is desirable, and even necessary, that the whole national population be woven into a simple public. Such an instance was the World War period. At such times, the attitudes of the remote rural sections are slowly mobilized for the task. The reign of home attitudes and private occupational attitudes gives way slowly to the larger public interest. The urban areas of the east,

[1] Bogardus, E. S., *The Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, p. 273, The Century Co., New York, 1924.

dominantly industrial, many of them, were willing to enter the World War as early as 1915. The Mid-west, dominantly agricultural, was not in favor of participating until months after war was declared.

Until very recently publics were, and even to considerable extent yet are, formed out of or by means of public assemblies. Farmers are not so used to attending or participating in public assemblies as are urban people. They do not work in masses, do not belong to trade unions, use committee organization very little, have few farmers' meetings, and so develop very little group spirit and collective thinking.[1]

The Farmer and Public Opinion:

By public opinion we mean the more or less rational, collective judgment formed by a group regarding a situation. It is formed by the action and reaction of many individual judgments. It implies not so much that uniformity of opinion has been reached by all members of the group, or even by a majority, as that a certain trend and direction of the opinions and judgments of the individual members has been reached.[2]

As Professor Cooley says:

The unity of public opinion, like all vital unity, is one not of agreement but of organization, of interaction and mutual influence. It is a group state of mind which is more or less distinctly aware of itself.[3]

It depends for formation upon the facilities at hand for the exchange of ideas and upon the processes of discussion, criticism, and other ripening and stabilizing thought processes.

Public opinion, like individual opinion, arises out of experience. It arises out of human adaptations, made to a constant set of forces, either social or physical. It becomes a point of view, handed down from the past. It becomes what is

[1] For a deeper appreciation of the influence of such types of behavior see Follett, M. P., *The New State,* Chap. II, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1920.

[2] Elwood, C. A., *The Psychology of Human Society,* p. 228, D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1925.

[3] Cooley, C. H., *Social Organization,* pp. 11, 85, and 122, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916.

known in religious terminology as a "persuasion." That is, it has an affective or emotional tone. It does not change quickly unless confronted with a crisis. As Walter Lippman says, people think in images and their images become stereotypes.[1] These stereotypes become moulds of thought or opinion. When these stereotypes or moulds are broken, mental and emotional chaos reigns for a while. Often the conclusions which are firmly held were reached by a slow process of adaptation or were handed down by tradition. The premises upon which they are based are not known by the individual or by the group holding them. There is a natural aversion to giving them up, because no means are at hand for forming others to take their places.

Public opinion is very powerful in rural communities on matters which concern the home, the occupation and enterprise of farming, and the integrity of these two dominating rural interests. It is weak on matters concerning interests of wider scope. Concerning traditional morals, rural communities are very "strait-laced." A wayward girl, a wild boy, or a broken family causes the individuals involved to be ostracised to a degree not common in city communities. National, international, and world issues, on the contrary, do not strike fire in rural opinion as quickly as in the more cosmopolitan urban communities.

The subtleness and diversity of public opinion depends upon the facilities for the dissemination of ideas and upon the opportunities for discussion. Discussion in rural communities is confined almost altogether to gossip, and gossip has usually far more to do with personal than with public issues. As was shown in Chap. XII, rural homes and rural communities lack volume and diversity of reading materials. Most rural communities are almost completely devoid of debates and discussion. It is by means of discussion that the common will is developed and common responsibility accepted.[2] Rural communities are short on opportunities for discussion. So long as

[1] LIPPMAN, WALTER, *Public Opinion,* pp. 95-f, Harcourt, Brace and Horne, New York, 1922.

[2] FOLLETT, M. P., *The New State,* Chap. XIII, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1920.

this is true they will cling rigidly to old opinions and participate little in the larger issues of society.

THE CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY OF FARM LIFE

The New Rural Life.—Practically every factor or influence that goes to make life in rural communities different from life in the city is less pronounced in its influence today than it has been in the past. Contacts, particularly those with the outside world, have been multiplied many times within the last generation. Farm work is continuously being reduced more to machine processes. The ease with which rural people can now travel has lessened the influence of the home in comparison with other institutions. Increased educational opportunities have introduced a larger portion of the world's culture into rural life. The rapid development of science and business that is now taking place in farming and rural affairs is helping the farmer to catch step with others of his generation. The growth of cooperative enterprises and other types of farmer organizations is teaching him group technique. The consolidation of schools is giving him a larger community.

If the stultifying influences of the standardization and wage system of industry can be kept out of the farm enterprise, while all the things just described come into rural life, the open country should develop a type of individual and community life to be greatly desired.

The New Farmer.—As the new factors, described in the preceding section, come into rural life and change the mode of living on the farm, they also change the mode of thought of the farmer. Boys and girls, born and reared on farms, no longer feel that their destinies are sealed by rural opportunities only. The same cultural paths, that lead new elements into the economic and social life of rural communities, lead rural people out of rural occupations and rural areas into other channels of life. Professor W. A. Anderson discovered, in a study of vocational choices of farmers' sons, who are now attending North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering (1925-1926), that only 56.1 per cent of them have

as yet definitely made a choice of vocations. Of the 106 boys, constituting the 56.1 per cent positive choices, only ten have decided to practice farming. A total of 189 farmers' sons, in the College, were included in the study. Sixty-five of them are taking courses in agriculture. Of these sixty-five only thirty, or 46.1 per cent, have made vocational choices, and only seven, or 1.08, per cent of them have chosen agriculture as a vocation.

The easy-going explanation given for students of colleges of agriculture not returning to the farm is that the "college trains boys away from the farm." This is unquestionably true to some degree. The process by which it is done is, however, is something to be praised rather than blamed. It is the process of placing them in touch with the broader aspects and opportunities of the world. The college training process is but a pronounced example of the way farm people are becoming a part of the larger society and thus escaping from the narrowing and stultifying influences which were described in the early sections of this chapter.

That the factors, which are entering rural life and leading farm boys and girls to look to all occupations and professions of life, are widespread and not confined to college influences alone, is indicated by a rather extensive study of occupational choices of high-school students, made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. In its country and village studies it got questionnaires from about 2,000 high-school students in fifty-three communities. In answer to the question, "Would you consider farming as a life work?" 1,108 attitudes were given. Only 458, or 41.2 per cent, of these attitudes were positively in favor of farming and 650, or 58.8 per cent, were definitely negative. Of the 650 who expressed definite desires to leave the farm, 171 gave answers which showed a definite conception of other opportunities in society. The boys listed seventeen and the girls listed twenty-six other occupations or professions which they expected to enter.[1]

From the foregoing facts, it is clear that the farm is no longer the culturally and socially isolated place it once was.

[1] Citation supplied by advanced information, document not yet published.

The infiltration of other than farming ideas and ideals into rural life will continue more rapidly in the future than in the past. What sort of a rural life it will develop and what kind of a person the American farmer of the future will be are speculated upon in Chap. XXII. One thing is clear. He will be different from the farmer of yesterday and different from the farmer of today.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE FARMER AND CIVILIZATION

THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE IN CIVILIZATION

The Beginnings of Agriculture.—It has been said that, "The day God created the earth the occupation of agriculture began." This, of course, is not true. Many long ages transpired between the time when man first appeared on the earth and when he became even the crudest kind of a farmer. The time that the earliest known species of man lived is variously estimated to be from 250,000 to 500,000 years ago. Apparently at least one-half of that long period transpired before man domesticated either plants or animals, and certainly he could not be considered to be a farmer until he had accomplished these two things. Previous to these accomplishments, he got his shelter in caves and by means of other natural barriers against weather, climate, seasons, and wild beasts. He obtained his food supply from herbs, roots, and berries where they grew, from the fish and other water foods, and from insects and wild animals. A few so-called aboriginal peoples are yet living in the stage of "direct appropriation," or what is sometimes called "the hunting and fishing stage," of economic evolution. Agriculture in even its crudest forms appeared only when man domesticated plants and animals and began to cultivate and nurture them.[1]

During the first stage of agriculture, and earlier, all people were open-country dwellers. There were no cities. Between that time and the present there have been many stages of evolution in agriculture and there has occurred a minute division of labor in the production of economic goods which has led to the development of many non-agricultural enterprises.

[1] Gras, N. S. B., *A History of Agriculture,* Chap. I, F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1925.

The major results of this development of agricultural civilization are that modern agriculture is the product of the past stages of agricultural development and that it is in many ways conditioned by other economic enterprises which have grown out of it, split off from it, or developed since it began. The farmer's place in civilization in the past or present cannot be understood nor his possible future place in civilization predicted except in the light of these facts.

Space does not permit of an elaborate description or analysis of the evolution of agriculture. All that can be offered here are a few broad generalizations about the past, which will furnish an insight into the present. These few generalizations are as follows:

First, that, as more and better methods of agricultural productions have been discovered or developed, the increased products of the soil have made it possible for a greater number of people to inhabit the earth.

Second, that, as the agriculturists have produced greater surpluses of food, clothing, and shelter products, the standards of living of all people who participated in the use of these products have been raised.

Third, that, out of surplus production and the gaining of leisure time have developed art, literature, recreation, and to some extent science.

Fourth, as the techniques and technologies of the refining processes have developed—the handicraft and manufacturing processes—many industries and many people, once located in the open country, have come to be located in cities.

Fifth, today the agriculturist is a specialist in the production of raw products only, all people depending upon him for these products and he depending on others for practically all of his refined goods.

If these generalizations are accepted as correct, it will then be seen that the modern farmer has a different place in civilization than the farmers of the past had. His problems of the present and the future, and his place in civilization at the present and in the future depend upon the economic and social adjustments made necessary by his new position in a society

that is far more complex and inter-dependent than it has ever been in the past.

Modern Agriculture.—Early agriculture was only an occupation. Modern farming is a business enterprise. Agriculture as an occupation consists of that body of work techniques and technologies by means of which farmers produce crops and animals. Agriculture as a business enterprise consists of those cost and income equations which are a part of a society organized and operated upon the basis of a price and market system. Farming as a business enterprise retains all of its technical work problems and has added to it the problems of price and marketing.

So long as farming was a mere occupation it could be fairly well learned by a system of apprenticeship. Its chief task was to make the soil produce a sufficient amount and diversity of products to supply the farm family with consumption goods for one year at a time. The family's supply of consumption goods was restricted to those products which could be grown and manufactured on the farm and in the home. Under these conditions the standard of living was sharply restricted in its diversity. The development of trade and commerce made possible an expansion of the gamut of consumption goods which the farm family might have. It also made possible a geographic division of labor in the production of farm products. It became possible for farmers to grow those products for which they had the greatest comparative physical and economic advantages, sell these products in the world's markets, and purchase, with the money collected for them, any and all types of goods produced anywhere in the world.

The coming of the industrial revolution and the development of trade and commerce have had drastic and far-reaching effects upon agriculture. The development of handicrafts first took place upon the farm. It was a natural result of the universal effort to make the natural and cultivated products of the earth yield greater utilities to mankind. The inventions which ushered in the industrial revolution made possible the application of water and motive power to refining of raw products, and concentrated the refining processes at

or near the sources of these types of power. These changes, in turn, made necessary trade and commerce. The effects upon agriculture were even more pronounced than the effects upon the refining processes.

The migration of population from the open country to cities began as a result of this new economic organization of society. Farmers were no longer confronted with the mere necessity of producing sufficient food, clothing, and shelter supplies to meet the consumption demands of themselves. They were confronted with the necessity of furnishing raw agricultural products for a population, one-half or more who lived in cities and produced no raw products. They were confronted, also, with the opportunities to specialize in the production of raw products and to purchase all kinds of refined goods from those engaged in manufacturing. All agriculture was carried on as a family enterprise. In early agriculture, farm products were planted, cultivated, harvested, and consumed by the individual farm family. This type of agriculture continued until about four centuries ago. It persisted in the Middle West of the United States until about fifty years ago and persists to considerable extent in the isolated mountain areas of the nation down to the present. In the main, however, agriculture has made the transfer from a self-sustaining industry to that of a commercial enterprise.

What Agriculture Is.—It has just been noted that agriculture is more than an occupation; that it has, within the last few hundred years, become a business. But it is more even than a business enterprise. It is a mode of life. To the farmer's mind, the occupation and science of agriculture and the economic problems of agriculture are measured by the standard of living which obtains in the open country. This, after all, is the true social test of agriculture. It is the aspect of agriculture which most concerns the people who farm.

Farmers do not farm in order merely to produce the raw food, clothing, and shelter products which society needs. They do not farm in order to make money. Farming existed for centuries before the price or money standards of measuring the value of goods came into being. In these early eras of

agriculture, the farmers of the world produced goods for home consumption and universally measured agriculture in terms of the standards of life which their production, plus the general physical and social environments, afforded. As society slowly but surely developed a division of labor and a system of exchange, agriculture came to be inter-dependent with other occupations. Its products were exchanged for the goods and services furnished by other great divisions, or occupational groups, of the world's population. Farmers came to produce for the market and to purchase from the market. The measure of exchange in the market was price. Agricultural efficiency, therefore, came to be measured in terms of prices of farm products and farm economic income.

The transfer from producing for home consumption to producing for the market did not alter the fundamental purposes of farm production. These purposes are today, as they always have been, to obtain the greatest satisfactions possible while working and living on the farm. The farmer, in last analysis, still measures farming in terms of the types and amounts of satisfaction it yields to those who farm. He has a right to expect others to measure it by the same criterion.

Farming then has three aspects. It is an occupation; it is a business enterprise; and it is a mode of life. The task of the farmer, in a society which is universally organized on a price and market basis, is to convert the occupation of farming—the production of raw farm products—into economic dividends, and to convert economic dividends into farm standards of living.

THE FARMER IN A COMMERCIAL WORLD

Farming Becomes a Commercial Enterprise.—Society is more definitely and more universally organized today upon the basis of its commerce than in any other way. Farming existed so long before commerce developed that agriculture has yielded slowly to the commercial régime. Gradually, however, the transfer must be, and is being, made. The two most universal sets of adjustments which, today, every farmer must

make are to the physical elements, such as the soil, climate, and the nature of crops and animals; and to the markets in which the products of the farm are sold. The modern farmer must be both a scientist and a business man, if he is to be a successful entrepreneur.

Every known method and accomplishment of exact and practical farm science is today laid at the farmer's feet in helping him to make his adjustments to the physical elements just mentioned and in teaching him the latest facts and practices in the nurture of plants and animals. Literally thousands of well-trained specialists serve him as agents and assistants in these tasks. But, in his adjustments to the stern and complex facts and conditions of the commercial world, into which he has been thrown heels first in the last half century, he is largely left to flounder.

What Is This Commercial World?—What sort of adjustments must the farmer make to the commercial régime? What must he know and what must he do to catch step with it? It is a world of prices and markets, an economic régime in which dividends on all divisions of society's labors are declared. The adjustments which he must make to it are those which have to do with costs of production, bargaining power in the markets of the world, and dividends to be awarded for economic accomplishment. What he must know is how market prices are made, and the thing he must do is to put himself in a position, both intellectually and physically, to help make them. Failing to do this, he will fail in everything else which goes to make him a successful farmer. The farmer is living on a lower standard of living than his brother entrepreneurs in other walks of life. He wants more dividends with which to fill in the gap which has widened in the last century between his standard of living and the standards of living of those engaged in urban occupations. He knows that all dividends are declared in the market place and he therefore seeks to make adjustments to the commercial world, of which the market is the heart and core. The reasons why he has not accomplished apt adjustments in the price and market régime, although he has been in it for two genera-

tions, and in some sections of the country for seven generations, are, because he is more a creature of custom and his occupation is more largely one of apprenticeship than that of any other entrepreneur; because he has been considered as only a tiller of the soil; and, above all, because his trained leaders have become confused in processes of production technique, to the end that he has been taught much more successfully to accomplish his task of feeding the world than he has to care well for his own family and community and to build an adequate civilization in the rural sections of the nation.

If we were still living in the day when the farm family got practically its whole standard of living out of its own herds and fields and flocks, then the farmer's task of adjustments would be complete when he had learned "to make two blades of grass grow where one previously grew." That day was a part of the early life of men yet living, but it is now universally past for them and all other farmers. The farmer of today purchases his standard of living from the ends of the earth. What he purchases and, therefore, largely what he has, depends upon the dividends he collects in the markets in which he sells his raw products. He not only demands and has a right to the hundreds of things which have only recently become a part of our general middle-class standards of living, but he must purchase clothes, implements, furniture, flour, and a hundred other things which were at one time made on the farm but which now, in the economy of specialization and division of labor, have slipped away to the city, leaving his time free to specialize in the production of raw products.

Farmers Attempt to Meet the Tests of the Commercial Régime.—Let us not imagine that the American farmer has failed to recognize his changed status or to see that adjustments need to be made. He is today making his economic demands heard in no uncertain terms. Immediately following the Civil War he made his first outstanding attempt to work out the adjustment to the commercial régime which was just then coming into America at full tide. The Granger

movement of the early seventies, which swept into its ranks over 700,000 individuals, set up all kinds of business enterprises and even organized a half-dozen new political parties, was an attempt at adjustment. The Agricultural Wheel, the old Louisiana Farmers' Union, and the two Farmers' Alliances of the eighties and early nineties were continuations of the same attempt. This consolidated movement mobilized upwards of 4,000,000 people who sought by economic and political organizations to accomplish the needed adjustments. These giant "ground swells" among the farmers of the nation have been looked upon as both foolish and futile. And indeed so they were to some degree. They were, nevertheless, though to some degree unconscious, attempts on the part of the farmer to become an integral part of the commercial régime. They did not end with the death of the Farmers' Alliance and the populist episode. The Farmers' Union, the Gleaners, the rejuvenated Grange, the American Society of Equity, the Farmers' Equity Union, and more recently the Farm Bureau, and the great commodity cooperatives have kept up the attempt to make this needed adjustment to the price and market régime. As a matter of fact, farmers are today almost universally organized, in one way or another, for economic action. The day is rapidly approaching when a majority of all American farmers will be members of one or more of these economic organizations. These organizations constitute conscious or unconscious, direct or indirect, attempts to adjust the enterprise of farming to the conditions and practices of the modern commercial world.

Farmers work continually under economic hardships. At times, such as that following the Civil War, during the panic of 1873, and following the World War, they worked under particularly hard conditions. It is at times like these that they have organized for specific economic action. Each time an agrarian movement has arisen its magnitude has been greater, its area of operation has been wider, and its attainments have been greater than those of any previous movement. This is because each has had the experience of previous movements to guide it and because it is made up

of an ever more intelligent agrarian population. It is probable that the experience has now been wide enough, and varied enough, and the intelligence of the farming class is now high enough, that our present set of farmers' economic organizations, or some immediately succeeding set of agrarian organizations, will be a permanent part of our nation's economic machinery.

Two generations ago farmers did not belong to organizations of any kind except major social institutions and traditional political parties. One generation ago only a few of the more radical belonged to the Wheel, the Alliance, and similar organizations. Today a majority of the farmers belong to one or more farmers' organizations. They are local, county, state, and national. They are unofficial and official. They are supported by subscription, fees, and taxation. But they are all a part of an agrarian movement—a movement that has arisen inevitably out of the fact that farmers recognize that they are performing a definite, essential, and abiding part of society's labor; the fact that the development of industrial technologies—especially transportation technologies—has converted farming into a commercial enterprise and thrown farmers into a price and market régime; the fact that the enlightenment of the farmer has reached such a status that he knows what is happening in other sections of the population and, therefore, knows that he is not a part of prosperous and polite society; the fact that he has observed that other sections of population, particularly those that have more or less common economic interests, have gained the ends which they sought most quickly by means of organized economic action.

The facts just stated are natural products of social evolution in all Western civilization. They are part of our developing social organization. The principles and major practices which the farmers' movement seems thus far to have developed are as follows: (1) It is made up of farmers. (2) They are organized for action, not mere talk or protest. (3) They are developing or acquiring the technologies with which to work. (4) They are cognizant of a need which is perpetual and which promises to become permanent unless

they themselves remedy it. (5) They are systematically attempting to discover the facts and analyze out the factors in their problems. (6) They are trying no new economic or political machinery. Rather they are borrowing those pieces of machinery which have been well tested in these two major lines of social activity and have proved their efficiency in getting results for their manipulators.

The agrarian movement is historically parallel to the labor movement and to the industrial revolution. It represents a growing class consciousness and the forming of a definite economic group. The rapid and drastic transformation which is taking place in farm operations, particularly in the conduct of farm business, is similar to, or a part of, the industrial revolution. The difference between the agrarian revolution and the industrial revolution is that it was the advent of power machinery and the mobilization of capital which ushered in the industrial revolution, while it is the application of merchandizing to farm commodities and the mobilization of farm credit which is ushering in the agrarian movement. Wages and hours were the needed adjustments in the industrial revolution. Prices and markets are the needed adjustments in the agrarian revolution.[1]

How Shall Farmers Make Their Needed Adjustments to the Price and Market Régime?—It is impossible for the modern farmer to withdraw from the price and the market régime. He lives and works in a world that is universally organized on these bases. It is needless to recount the economic and social advantages which the farmer and all others gain because of this fact. Suffice it to say that the farmer must come fully into the commercial world. Thus far he has come into it without either the knowledge or the organization with which to cope with its problems. It must be patent, then, that the way to help him make his adjustments to it is to help him get the economic information and economic organization with which to operate successfully in it. Every agency, voluntary or official, which is seeking to help the farmer to

[1] Taylor, Carl C., "Organizing Farms for Economic and Political Action," *Proceedings*, American Sociological Society, University of Chicago Press, 1924.

be efficient and successful in his task of farming must furnish him information and education in these two fields.

All these agencies are beginning to attack the farmer's commercial problems to some extent. Most of them are proud of the beginning they have made. It is a question whether they would be, if an honest and intelligent appraisal were made of the emphasis which they are giving to these problems in comparison with the emphasis which they are giving to some other problems in agriculture. The farmer on his farm and the farmer's son at college are receiving from ten to twenty-five times as much instruction in soils, physical production, and plant and animal diseases as they are receiving in instruction in costs, prices, credits, markets, and economic and social organization.

The farmer's most dominant and most difficult problems today are the problems which confront him in his commercial relationships. They are more complex than any of his problems of production. They are more difficult to understand and they are far more difficult to influence. A knowledge of them is much less apt to be assimilated or learned through apprenticeship than any other phase of successful farming. The adjustments must be made by way of economic education. The issue is so important and so pressing, and has been so for a generation, that fully one-half the time, money and energy of the agencies of agricultural education and leadership should be given to helping the farmer make an honest, intelligent, and successful adjustment to the world's price and market system.

The farmers of the world are not producing more raw materials than it is good for the world to have. But they are violating practically every law of the decalogue in business or, at least, are failing to use these laws to the ends that they are failing to collect economic dividends on their division of society's labor, and consequently failing to have the money with which to purchase a modern standard of living or to build a satisfactory rural civilization. Furthermore, their leaders are largely those who are following in the rut of teaching them how to produce more increments of farm products,

leaving them ignorant of how to collect dividends upon what they do, can, and will produce. Farmers have used night riding to carry their economic ends. They have attempted to eliminate many legitimate business enterprises. They have been moved to both sadness and madness in attempts to get into organized action. They and their leaders have tried the idea of a third party and failed because third parties do not yet succeed in the United States, and because party allegiance is too indirect and intangible to guarantee the continuous loyalty of farmers. They have sought to alter major economic practices and organizations by legislation and mere protest. They have sought to raise prices by urging cheap money and by legislating dollar wheat and ten-cent cotton. Notwithstanding all these things, and in fact partly because of them, they have reached a stage of thought and action that makes them ready and anxious to learn, if only the teachers may be had.

Modern farming is a commercial enterprise. One of its major sets of adjustments is to the price and market régime. If these adjustments are not made through the development and spread of price and market intelligence, they will be made through more revolutionary methods, such as third parties, farmer revolts, and class conflict such as have typified the adjustments in the industrial field. More tragic yet would be the contemplation of these adjustments not being made by either method with the consequent development of an inadequate and unworthy rural civilization in America.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN RURAL LIFE

Its Two Great Possibilities.—American agricultural civilization can either become unique or it can follow the path of practically all other agricultural civilizations. Agricultural civilization is more or less a tragedy throughout the whole world. In culture and standards of living, it lags behind urban civilization in most of the nations of the world. Landed aristocracies, where they yet exist, are largely an absentee landlord class. Where ownership is still retained by those

who till the soil, the rural civilization is, in most cases, a peasant civilization. It is only in young countries, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the South American nations that farm operators approach either the financial or the social status of the most élite and prosperous classes in society. The trend in the United States is undeniably away from this condition. It is true that men and women born on American farms one or two generations ago have not failed to rise in the scale of financial and social success. Few of them, however, have done so by remaining on the farm. They have left the farm for other professions which have led them into city life.

When millions of persons pick up "root and branch" and leave the environment in which they were born and reared, there can be no denying that stern forces are at work which, to the minds of those who move, portend serious consequences unless some drastic action is taken. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that these stern forces are operating on those who stay on the farm as well as those who move away from it.

Hundreds of thousands of young people, who are just entering occupations and professions or who have recently started in life for themselves, choose the city as their field of greatest opportunity. The fact that a conscious choice is exercised in practically all such cases helps to explain somewhat the type of persons the rural districts are losing. Slow-minded people do not quickly take up new enterprises. They stay on the farm where the tasks of life are learned by apprenticeship and assimilation. A man who never reaches the stage of analyzing his economic and social outlook sufficiently to raise the issue of its comparative advantages with other outlooks is likely to be the very individual who perpetuates custom farming, who makes it difficult to get the farm enterprise on a scientific and business basis, and who accepts without protest a low standard of living on the farm. Those who are most wide-awake, who read most, who seek cultural and business education, or who most want to get on in the world, are the very ones who not only know about the higher yielding dividend enterprises of society, but are just the type of per-

sons who believe in themselves enough to volunteer for the financial battle. Those who are unwilling to put up with poor schools, poor churches, poor houses, little recreation, and few social contacts are altogether too often the persons who go to the city and battle for these things, and thereby help the city to get them, while those who make no such demands stay in the country and lower the level of competition by going without such things.

If all the brains and the initiative which have been born or developed on American farms, but are now guiding and furnishing dynamics for business enterprises in our cities, were to be turned back to the farms, some of the things which will be mentioned in the conclusion of this book would come to pass in less than half a generation.

Agricultural Efficiency and Rural Welfare.—The increased efficiency of the farmer himself, due to the coming of science and machinery during the last hundred years, has been very marked, making possible the production of a much greater volume of farm products with practically no increase in farm labor force.[1] The result has been that agricultural efficiency has steadily increased while the percentage of our national population engaged in agriculture has steadily decreased. The problems of agricultural efficiency and rural welfare ought to be two aspects of the same thing in a well-organized social order. There ought to be some means discovered by which the benefits resulting from increased efficiency could be generously reflected in the well-being of those responsible for the economic gain. This has not been true to any considerable degree in American agriculture.

American farms are producing more in annual volume of products than at any previous time. American farmers are producing more per man than any farm population on earth. Furthermore, they are producing more per acre than any previous generation of American farmers has ever produced. With a greater gross production, a greater per capita production, and a greater per acre production of the very goods which the world needs most, it is a peculiar situation indeed

[1] See Chap. IV.

that a farm standard of living should be consistently and perpetually below that of the city. It is argued, by some students of the agricultural situation, that the solution to such a situation is to allow farm production to lag until the population of the world cries for food and cries in terms of higher prices.[1] If our present price system worked by divine fiat, there would be no other solution. But such is not the case, and one is, therefore, warranted in looking for other solutions.

The farmer's task in society at large is to grow raw products to feed and clothe the world. In order to do this adequately there are now none too many farmers. His task, as seen from his own viewpoint, is to feed, clothe, and shelter the members of his own family and, in addition to this, to guarantee them opportunities for health, education, recreation, and community life. In order to do this, he must collect more dividends out of the markets to which he sells his raw products.

This dilemma does not resolve itself into the issue of starving himself just a little more in order that others may live, or starving others just a little more in order that he may live. It is a problem of the price system and the economic and social theories growing out of it. By economic education and economic group organizations, the farmers of the nation must put themselves into a position where they can know the "mysteries of the pecuniary calculus" as well as the mysteries of soil and seed. They must place themselves in a position to reap the same sort of rewards that corporate businesses have accomplished by means of consciously organized economic power and increased economic enlightenment. This is not an easy task. It is the task of introducing and inculcating big business methods into agriculture. This task has been accomplished by a slow accumulation of knowledge, which began with the rise of trade and commerce and developed rapidly in city enterprises after the advent of the industrial revo-

[1] East, E. M., *Mankind at the Crossroads*, Chap. IV and VI, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923; and Thompson, W. S., *Population a Study in Malthusianism*, Columbia University Press, 1915.

lution. It will develop slowly in the field of agriculture for two chief reasons: *first,* because agricultural production becomes organized in large proportions only at the point of marketing; and *second,* because the trained leaders in agriculture are spending most of their time, energy, and money in working on the occupational or technical production problems of agriculture rather than on the business problems of agriculture. Until this task is accomplished, however, anyone is justified in challenging the right of anyone else to assert that present low farm income is a sign that 10 per cent, or any other percentage, of our present farmers should leave the farms, cease to produce some of the prime necessities of all life, and become hired manual laborers of the money makers of the world.

As the development of agricultural efficiency advances, as farmers become capable of producing greater volumes of raw products with fewer farmers, there confront them three possible ultimate depositories for the gains of their increased capacities: *first,* to let the gains of their improvements drift into higher land values; *second,* to let the results of their greater efficiency drift into the improvement of city life; and *third,* to discover knowledge and power by which they can convert their agricultural gains into economic dividends and their economic dividends into rural standards of living.

There has developed in the United States, because of two centuries of exceptional land opportunities, what might be called a "land speculation complex." American farmers hold a traditional belief that all of them will some day own farms. They believe that it is inevitable that land values will continue to rise indefinitely. These two beliefs have caused increased land values to absorb a large proportion of the economic gains of American agriculture. There has also developed in the United States what might be called "an urban complex," which leads practically all persons of the nation, who seek culture, leisure time pursuits, and all other social desiderata, to drift cityward. The belief that city life is, and must be, better or at least more satisfying than rural life, causes many of the economic gains in agriculture to bear

fruit in comparatively high urban standards of living but in comparatively low rural standards of living.

The question of whether American rural civilization will develop into a peasant civilization or even into a tenant and hired-man civilization depends upon whether we develop a "rural life complex" which will work to the end of seeing that agricultural economic gains fruit in enhanced rural standards of living. This complex will have to be composed of two chief traits; *first,* a knowledge of the fact that prices and economic dividends are products of economic and social organization; and *second,* that rural life, if the economic returns can be assured, can be made more wholesome, more creative, less stressful, and more satisfying than city life.

The Tests of Rural Progress.—Progress, to most persons' minds, is a vague thing. No attempt will be made here to define it in absolute terms. What will be done is to discuss a few of the criteria which are quite universally accepted as measures of modern social progress and apply these criteria to American rural life.

The rural standard of living was discussed in some detail in Chap. VI. The eight standards for measuring human satisfactions were there stated to be, food, clothing, housing, health, education, religion, recreation, and social contacts. The first four of these measure chiefly physical satisfactions. The last four measure cultural satisfactions. Whether correctly or not, society has come to accept these as criteria of social efficiency. Measured by any one or all of these criteria, rural society has advanced. When compared to urban society, however, it has lagged. The lag is most pronounced in cultural attainments and cultural facilities and, whether wisely or not, we have come to measure civilization more in terms of these cultural satisfactions than we do in terms of the physical satisfactions. It is not enough to make gains over previous standards of living. Rural society is a part of civilization and its gains in social well-being must keep pace with the best in other sections of our society or relatively it is losing ground.

The accomplishments of socialization, discussed in Chap. XXI, are quite universally accepted as measures of progress.

It is by the process of socialization that individual personality is enhanced and community life accomplished. Human life is lived largely by means of, and for the purpose of association. It is out of human contacts that the greatest pleasures come. The dire isolation of pioneer rural life has been greatly mitigated by means of modern methods of communication. Here again, however, when compared with city life, the rural inhabitant lives under continual handicaps. With the exception of the family association, the rural dweller has comparatively few institutional associations. Communication by means of social gatherings, public meetings, the press, the telephone, and business contacts are all restricted in comparison with what they are in city life. Community life, in terms of the playground and the neighborhood, is meagre, and as Professor Cooley says, these "primary associations are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual." [1] In primitive society, and even in early American colonial society, the rural neighborhood or community constituted an actual face-to-face group. The fusion of personalities, which Cooley describes as the essence of human nature, has probably been sacrificed to a great extent in city life, because of the impersonal life that characterizes city persons. But in rural life it has been even more completely sacrificed by the break up of the old neighborhood life and the failure to replace it by any other face-to-face association.

To quote again from Professor Cooley:

> Life in the primary (face-to-face) groups gives rise to social ideals which, as they spring from similar experiences, have much in common throughout the human race. And these naturally become the motive and test of social progress. Out of them we get our notions of love, freedom, justice, and the like, which we are ever applying to social institutions.[2]

In the three primary associations, listed by Cooley—the family, the playground, and the neighborhood—the rural com-

[1] Cooley, C. H., *Social Organization,* p. 23, Charles Scribner's Son, New York, 1916.
[2] *Ibid,* p. 32.

munity gains over the city community because of its more stable family life, but loses because of its less apt play and neighborhood life. The remedy is obviously for rural communities to gain the benefits of these last two by providing themselves with the facilities which will furnish them.

As civilization has advanced leisure has increased. Rural life has gained neither its share of leisure time nor facilities for the constructive use of leisure. Our complex of urban life idealization has led us largely to eliminate the open country as a place of leisure. Those who contend that we have too many farmers seem to assume that all the leisure classes and all leisure time are natural parts of city life but are unwarranted in a scheme of rural social existence. In many ways, the development of leisure plays equal part with the development of economic surplus in promoting cultural accomplishment. Out of its attainment have come art, literature, and science. And this, more than superior capacity, probably explains why the urban population, rather than rural life, furnishes more of the persons accomplished in these cultural endeavors. The country with its open spaces living things, landscapes and opportunities for contemplation and meditation ought to furnish a fertile environment for accomplishment in these fields, if only it can accomplish freedom from deadening work fatigue, escape from the borderline of economic poverty, place itself in contact with the process of socialization, and develop a conviction about its superior natural advantage for the constructive use of leisure time.

Civilization, unlike institutions, does not consist of the lengthened shadows of great men. Nevertheless, rural progress depends mightily upon leadership, and the whole régime of agriculture and rural life has been so cast in the past as to develop few leaders. Professor Gillette names the "prime requisites of a productive rural leadership" as "the power of initiative, organizing ability, sympathy with human aims, trained intelligence, and vision and outlook." [1]

Rural life has had very little statesmanship dedicated to its

[1] Gillette, J. M., *Rural Sociology*, p. 516, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

cause. It has given birth to, reared, and partly educated many of the great leaders in society; but few of these leaders have remained in the open country or dedicated their talents and efforts to the upbuilding of rural civilization.

Let us take Professor Gillette's requisite of leadership and attempt to understand why rural life has not been apt in developing and retaining leaders. The individual enterprise of farming, rural isolation, and the early participation of children in the farm work develop a high degree of initiative in the average rural-reared individual. This is about the only requisite of leadership that is encouraged by rural life. Organizing ability is little developed because economically, socially, and politically organized activities are few in rural communities. Sympathy with human aims is generally confined to the cardinal virtues of individual and family conduct. The aims of wider human associations and accomplishments are absent, because of the lack of participation in the cosmopolitan life of society. Trained intelligence has in the past been lacking to a great extent because of the prevailing habit of learning how to farm by means of apprenticeship, rather than by blue prints and scientific analysis which have long been the schemes of training in industries and the professions. Vision and outlook have been lacking because of the lack of opportunity to participate in the large life of society and thus a failure to understand the relation of agriculture to the general social organization.

Thus far in our analysis the outlook for rural society seems dark. It need not be. Leaders do not lead individuals, as such, except in the case of mobs. They are, so to speak, the entrepreneurs of organizations. The cue to rural progress is rural organization. Statesmanship can not function, or even develop, without a conscious organization of people and interests. Rural society must become conscious of its existence, its problems, its possibilities, and its aims. It must organize its primary groups on a neighborhood basis; its institutional groups on a community basis; its economic groups on a market basis; and, through these and other organizations, place itself in a position to participate and cooperate in the larger cultural life

of civilization. These attainments cannot be accomplished by training men and women merely in the technique and technologies of the occupation of agriculture. It must be done by training them in the knowledge and conduct of their economic affairs, and in a knowledge of and conduct of their inter-dependent economic life. It must not stop short of training them in a knowledge of their social relationships and in furnishing them with the community and social organization tools by means of which they can and may obtain the more subtle and more desired personal and social satisfactions of modern civilization.

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INDEX

Accidents, on the farm, 74-75, 342-343
Adams,
  Act, 452
  H. B., 398
Adult education, 326-327
Age,
  Distribution of rural population, 40
  Of commerce, 385-492
Agrarian,
  Movements, 442
  Parties and politics, 444-447
Agricultural,
  College, 6
  Education, 258
  Frontier, 23
  Journal, The, 259-264
  Legislation, 449-451, 458
  Policies, 440-448
Agriculture,
  As an enterprise, 134, 486
  As a mode of life, 49-50
  As an occupation, 73-74
  Future of American, 493-495
  Modern, 484-485
  Types of, 83-85
  What it is, 485-486
American Society of Equity, 489
Allen, H. S., 103
Alliance, Farmers', 442-444
Anderson, W. A., 479-480
Andrews, C. M., 398, 423
Animals, influence on mind of farmer, 53
Antrin, S. B. and I. A., 283
Art,
  Getting into rural life, 389-391
  Getting rural life into, 391-392
  Need of in rural life, 378
  Objects of, 378-388
  Role of in rural life, 376-377
  Scenic, 378-381
  Social, 381-388
Arvold, A., 386-388
Atkinson,
  M. M., 202-203
  R. A., 384-385
Attitudes,
  Influence of climate, weather, etc., on, 463-465
  Farmers', 424
  Religious, 469
  Urban-rural, 427
  Work, 361
Automobiles,
  Influence in community meetings, 153
  Mode of transportation, 151-153
  Number in United States, 152

Bailey, L. H., 26, 272
Bernard, L. L., 481
Betts, G. H., 303, 314
Bing, P. C., 264-265
Bizzell, W. B., 161, 166
Black, J. D., 60, 414
Bogardus, E. E., 466, 472, 476
Borglum, G., 376
Boys and girls clubs, 277-278
Branson, E. C., 389-390
Bricker, G. A., 220
Brim, D. G., 306
Bruce, A. A., 459
Brunner, de, S., 230, 242, 370
Buck, S., 443
Burgess, E. W., 465, 471
Burr, W., 272
Burrett, M. C., 409
Business,
  Methods on farm, 124-125
  Relation of farming to others, 46-49
Butterfield, K. L., 11, 13, 37, 191-192, 255

Campbell, M., 319
Capper, A., 449-451
Carney, M., 410
Carver, T. N., 31

Channing, A., 198
Chapin, R. C., 119
Chautauqua, 282
Child,
  Life on the farm, 195-200
  Labor, 197-200
Chocherson, B. H., 409-410
Church,
  A social institution, 239-240
  Abandonment, 219-221
  Adequate, 241-253
  Attendance, 219
  Decline, 213
  Equipment, 229-230, 247
  Financial support, 230-233, 247
  Function of, 212-214
  Membership, 213-218, 222-223
  Leadership, 223-229, 236-239, 249-251
  Programs, 225-227, 251-253
Class consciousness, of farmers, 429
Clopper, E. N., 211, 361
Communication,
  Agencies of, 132-133
  Significance in rural life, 131-f.
Community,
  Buildings, 418-420
  Centers, 416-420
  Constructed, 413
  Controls, 404-406
  Councils, 411
  Early American, 398-400
  Incorporated, 412-413
  Movement, 399-400
  Need of larger rural, 402-404
  Organization, 406-408, 414-415
  Pioneer, 399
  Universality of, 395-397
  Village, 398
Conflicts,
  Land values and rural standard of living, 103-104
  Urban-rural, 424
Contacts,
  Closer urban-rural, 20
  Desire for on part of farmers, 16, 54
  Increased, 24
Cook, J. H., 324-325, 410
Cooley, C. H., 477-499
Cooperation,
  As "Rural Problem," 17
  Enterprises, 408-410
  Need of, 433
  Urban-rural, 429-434
Copeland, M. T., 475
Country life association, American, 27
Country life commission, American, 26-27, 33
Country weekly, 264-268
County agents, 277-279
Crowe, M. F., 192, 199
Cubberley, E. P., 294-295, 311
Culturization, 471-475
Culture, 472-474
Curtis, H. S., 375

Dakota Farmer, the, 381-382
Davenport, C. B., 332
Davis, E. E., 174, 300-301
Death Rates, 330
Division of labor, 21
Douglas, H. P., 370, 412-413, 423, 430, 437-438, 457-458
Dudgeon, M. S., 275

East, E. M., 321
Economic basis of social problems, 7
Education,
  Adult, 326-327
  Agencies of, 257
  Agricultural, 258
  By radio, 149
  Community, 327
  High School, 322-325
  Must be progressive, 309-310
  Purpose of rural, 284-285
  Rural, 258
  Through demonstration, 276-280, 325
Efficiency,
  Agricultural, 495-498
  From farmers' point of view, 35-36
  From national point of view, 33-34
  Problem of rural, 495-498
Eggleston and Bruire, 321
Ellwood, C. A., 477
Ely, A. T., 93
Employment Agencies, 63
Engel, F., 118-119
Eetting, E., 398
Extension,
  Bureaus of cities, 47
  Education, 149

Faber, H., 334
Fairs, 280-281

Family,
An economic unit, 189-190
A social institution, 186-188
A social unit, 190-191
Uniqueness of rural, 188-189
Farm,
Journal, the, 275
Self-sufficient, 20-21
Size of in U. S., 83-85
Farm Bureau, 449-451, 489
"Farm Bloc," 449-451
Farmer-Labor party, 445
Farmers' Equity Union, 489
Farmers' Union, 399, 418, 489
Farmer's Wife, The, 209-210
Farming,
As a business, 48-49
As a national enterprise, 43-45
As a mode of life, 49-54
As an occupation, 73-74
Types of, 43-44
Fatigue, 51, 53
Fenn, F. W., 152
Field, projects, 8-9
Fisk, G. W., 411
Follett, M. P., 477, 478
Forces of nature, 30-31, 51-53
Ford, W. E., 175
Fought, H. W., 292, 303
Frysinger, G., 206-207

Galpin, C. J., 39-40, 390-391, 405, 416, 431, 462-465
Gaston, H. E., 445
Gibbs, W. S., 126
Gill, C. O., and Pinchot, G., 216-217, 219, 233, 236-237
Gillette, J. M., 11, 101, 154, 192, 417, 500, 501
Gleaners, 409, 489
Government,
Local, 455-459
National, 445-453
State, 453-455
Grange, 409, 418, 442-443, 489
Gras, N. S. B., 482
Gray, L. C., 414
Greely, W. B., 94
Green, R. G., 199-200
Groves, E. R., 11, 481

Hamsun, K., 461
Hargreaves, J. R., 411
Harris, H. F., 348
Hatch Act, 452
Hayes, A. W., 409, 418, 430-434
Health,
And farm work, 341-342
Comparison of rural and urban, 330-333
Mental, 343-346
Notions about, 328-329
Public, 347-348
Rural advantages and disadvantages, 329-330
School, 436
Weak spots in rural life, 333-341
Hill, L. S., 359
Hoffman, F. L., 333, 343
Holmes, G. K., 79
Home,
Agencies for improving, 206
As social institution, 186-188
Conveniences, 203-206
Demonstration work, 206-207
Ideals for, 209-210
Uniqueness of rural, 188
Hospitals, 346-347
House,
As object of art, 379-380
Standards, 202
The farm, 200-202
Towns, 436-437
Yard, 202-203
Howe, F. E., 185

Ideals, church must develop, 235
Illegitimacy, 238
Illiteracy, 286
Immigrants, distribution of, 64
Industrialization, 15, 20-21, 42
Industries on farm, 34-35, 37, 45-47
Insanity, 345-346
International relations, 46
Inter-urbans, 136-137
Institutions,
Church as, 212-213, 239-241
For promoting agriculture, 18, 25-27
Influence of tenancy on, 174-176
School as, 284-289
Isolation,
As rural problem, 16
Influence on personality, 131, 465-466
Influence on school, 301-302
Problem of Chapter VII

Jennings, H. S., 350
Jensen, A. S., 284-286
Johnson, O. R., 175

Kelly, E., 409
Kimball, A. M., 417
Kile, O. M., 409
Kirkpatrick, E. L., 126
Knapp, S. A., 277-278
Koch, F., 386
Kolb, J. H., 417, 431

Labor,
  Domestic, 57-58, 64-65
  Farm, Chapter IV
  Manual, 65-66, 73
  Organizations, 58-65
  Problems, 58-65
  Seasonal demands, 57, 77
  Sources of farm, 55-57
  Standards, 71
Laboratory projects, 8
Laborers,
  Farm, 58
  Specialization of, 62
  Wages of, 61-62
LaFollette, 445-446
Land,
  And community social structure, 82-86
  And society, Chapter V
  Disposal of, 89-94
  Movement of population on, 41
  National policy, 96-99
  Ownership, 101, 103, 105-106
  Peculiar influence in United States, 86-94, 104
  Present situation, 94-96
  Reclamation, 98, 104-105
  Settlements, 99-101, 104-106, 182, 183
  State policies, 99
  The basis of agriculture, 81
Lantis, L. O., 409
Leadership,
  And progress, 499-501
  Church, 249-251
Lee, J., 350
Lehmann, E. W., 272, 336
LeBon, G., 474
Libraries, 274-276
Leisure, 53
Lloyd, O. G., 162
Lindeman, E. C., 211, 367-368, 400, 412
Lippman, W., 478
Love, A. G., 332
Lumsden, L. L., 335

MacRae, H., 106
McBride, G. Mc, 82
McClenahan, B. A., 412
McIntire, R., 197
Machines, labor saving, 67-71
Mackaye, B., 92
Magnusson, L., 93
Market,
  Areas, 134
  Contacts, 135
  Régime, 491-493
Martin, O. B., 277
Mead, E., 101, 185, 414
Ministers, 223-224
Morality,
  Hired Man's, 76
  Not result of conversion, 239
  Of rural people high, 235
  Towns', 437-438
Morehouse and Ely, 93, 97
Morgan, E. L., 410
Morgan, J. S., 408
Morrill Act, 452
Morse, R., 417
Music, as art in rural life, 381-383

Nason, W. C., 347-348
National,
  Agricultural organizations, 440-448
  Board of farm organizations, 450
  Efficiency, 33-35
  Government and farmer, 445-453
  Politics and farmer, 442, 444
Newspapers,
  As means of communication, 149-150
  Conspicuous cases in rural homes, 150
  Weeklies, 264, 268

Occupation,
  Farming a solitary, 74-75
  Farming not a dangerous, 74-75
  Gainfully employed, 44
  Influence on personality, 50, 460-463
  Seasonal, 71-72
Ogden, H. N., 348
Ogburn, W. F., 116

Pageants, rural, 383-386
Parcel post, 144-145
Park, R. E., 465
Phelan, J., 154, 255, 359, 417
Play, *see* Recreation
Politics, Farmer and, Chapter XX
Population,
  Amount of rural, 38
  Character of rural, 39-40
  Drift to cities, 12-16
  Increase in rural, 13
  Movement of, 40-43
  Per cent urban and rural, 38
  Per square miles, 131
  Town and Country, 422-423
Populist party, 443-444
Preston, Mrs. J. C., 288
Production,
  Over-, 14
  Per acre and per man, 13
  Restricting, 55-56
Progress, tests of, 498-501
Psychology,
  Changing farmers, 479-481
  Mob, 474-475
  Of farmers' thought processes, 466-470
  Of standard of living, 122-123
  Social, 470-475
Public,
  Buildings as objects of art, 379
  Farmer and, 476-479
  Opinion, 477-479
  Platform, 281-282
Purnell Act, 297, 452

Quick, H., 15, 37, 502

Radio, 147-149
Railroads, 133-136
Rankin, J. O., 268-269
Reading materials in farm houses, 268-274
Recreation,
  Adequate rural programs, 367-372
  Agencies promoting, 372-375
  Characteristics of present, 365-367
  Different from amusement, 349-350
  Lack of organized, 361-363
  Mental values of, 351-352, 354-355
  Moral values of, 353
Recreation (*Continued*)
  Need of in rural life, 353
  Of pioneers, 363-365
  Physical values of, 351, 353-354
  Role of in life, 349
  Social values of, 352, 355-359
Reese, M. J., 211
Religion,
  And church, 213-214
  Adequate rural program of, Chapter XI
R. F. D.,
  As agency of communication, 143-145
  Dependence upon good roads, 145
  Growth of, 143
Ribhany, A. M., 463
Rice, S. A., 441-442, 463

Sanders, J. T., 173
Sanderson, D., 11, 403, 417
Schmidt and Ross, 37-41, 502
School,
  As teaching agency, 288-289
  As community institution, 287-288
  Attendance, 296-297
  Course of study, 289-291, 306-309, 316
  Consolidation, 318-325
  Influence of race cleavage on, 302-303
  Influence of tenancy on, 299-300
  Leisure time programs of, 292
  Must add new subjects, 311-315
  Recitations in rural, 294-299
  Rural division of labor of, 284
  Supervision, 298
  Support of, 295-296
  Tasks of rural, 286-287
  Too small, 294, 298
  Weakness of rural, 294-299
Sectarianism, 221-222, 246
Sex, distribution of rural population, 40
Sidis, B., 474
Small, A. W., 376
Smith-Hughes,
  Act, 452
  Schools, 323
Smith-Lever Act, 207, 452
Snedden, D., 327
Standard of living,
  As a problem in rural welfare, 32-33

Standard of living (*Continued*)
Comparison of urban and rural, 111-117
Conflict with land values, 103-104
Defined, 108-109
Elements of, 109
False and futile, 15
General facts about, 110
Influence of economic factors on, 117
Influence of tenancy on, 120-121, 169-174
Improving rural, 123-127
Modification by choice, 121-122
Statistical measurements of, 115-120
Social status of hired men, 77-78
Socialization, 471-475
Soil fertility, 22
Sociology,
General 3, 5, 6
Rural, 11
Streightoff, F. H., 119-120
Stewart, L. C., 157
Superstitions, 463-465
Supply and demand, law of, 15

Taft, L., 389
Tannenbaum, F., 466
Taylor, A. W., 227-228, 230
Taylor, Carl C., 121-122, 164, 168, 173-174, 200, 204, 225, 272, 299, 336, 417, 431, 491
Taylor, H. C., 26, 60
Teele, R. P., 102
Telephone,
As agency of communication, 145-147
Growth of rural, 146
Influence on community organization, 146-157
Tenancy,
A normal step toward ownership, 158
Causes of farm, 158-166
Economic consequence of, 166-169
Effects on community life, 168, 176-177
Effects on standard of living, 169-174
Effects on social institutions, 174-176, 299-300
Hereditary, 177-179
Tenancy (*Continued*)
Increase in farm, 156, 158
Land developments and, 163
Land values and, 159-163
Landed estates and, 165-166
Poor agriculture and, 166
Significance in rural life, 155-156
Social consequence of, 169-179
Solution of, 179-185
Theatre, the little country, 386-388
Town,
A social entity, 435-436
And country relations, 421-422
Planning, 438-439
Populations, 422-423
The farmers', 423-424
Transportation,
Development of, 133-149
Need of a national system, 137-138
Turner, F. J., 41, 88

Urbanization,
Causes of, 19, 494
Processes, 12-16
Since 1900, 41-43

Van Hise, 96
Vawter, K., 282
Veblen, T., 474
Vincent, G. E. 376
Visiting,
As means of communication, 150
Rural family, 151
Voting,
Farmer in national elections, 445-446
Of tenants, 176
Vogt, P. L., 218-219, 423, 454

Wages, 61-62
Ward, F. E., 192, 204-205, 341
Warburton, S. R., 211, 230
Warren, G. M., 340
Waugh, F. A., 211, 377-380
Wealth,
Concentration of, 427
Produced by American farmers, 13
Weist, E., 409
Welfare,
Agricultural, 494-498
Dependence upon contact, 30
Relation to efficiency, 27-29
Teaching rural, 125-127

White, E. V., 174-175, 300
Williams, R. W., 464
Wilson, E., 255
Wilson, W. H., 234, 307, 411
Wissler, C., 473
Women,
  As producers, 192
  Household duties of, 193-194
  Place on the farm, 191-195
Wood, T. D., 333
Y. M. C. A., 253-254, 258, 283
Y. W. C. A., 254-255, 258, 283
Yoder, F. R., 164, 168, 225, 299, 336
Young, E. C., 54

Zimmerman, C. C., 121-122, 164, 168, 173, 174, 200, 204, 225, 272, 299, 336, 338, 417, 431
Zinthec, C. J., 69
Zumbrunnen, A. C., 411

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